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361 everyone knows where the boundaries lie between village areas, or between hamlets and other settlements, and there is plenty of land for expansion and for the wandering cattle nomads who traverse the area annually moving their cattle north and south with the coming and going of the rains.

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361 The settlements are all made up of walled compounds and within these are the mud-walled houses with conical thatched roofs, or sometimes grass mat walls with thatched roofs. In the northeast of Bornu the people specialize in a bee-hive shaped house of bound thatch which can be picked up and moved and can reach a size of twenty to thirty feet in diameter, although ten to fifteen feet is more common. A compound is almost always rectangular in shape with mud or grass mat walls and internal partitions. There is only one entrance which is often a house with two doors so that there is a shelter at the doorway for people to gather and visit with the household head. The compounds in any settlement are always arranged in a "U"-shape with the open end towards the west and the closed end on the east. The arms of the U then form the north and south sides of the open plaza where all the major events of town take place. Although in very tiny settlements, big cities, or settlements that have lost a great many people, this U-shape is not often easy to discover, it can be seen by simply asking people where they have their central plaza. When this is pointed out, the questioner knows exactly where to look for the house of the senior political leader of the settlement since his household is always at the bottom of the U in the center facing west. Parenthetically, this means that when individuals or groups pray and bow down toward the east in the open plaza, which they often do, they face the doorway of their local political leader's compound.

241 Around the villages are fields of millet, the major food staple, guinea corn, ground-nuts, the major cash crop, and numerous specialized crops of vegetables or gourds that vary from place to place depending upon local conditions. Almost everybody does a little farming while goods not produced within the household itself are purchased at local weekly markets that dot the countryside in each of the major villages.

171 In their culture the Kanuri share ideas about religion, social organization, and subsistence patterns with many of the other peoples of the Western Sudan. Even esoteric items such as pre-pubescent boys' hair styles are shared across wide areas of the southern and central Sahara ranging as far away as Morocco. In their patterns of dress—workshirts and long ground-length robes for men, long shirts and saris for women—they again share many items with surrounding peoples as they do in their love of horses which give a man prestige unless he is one of the few in the cities that owns an automobile. Their language, Kanuri, is not related to other languages of Nigeria, but is shared and closely related to a large group of tongues called Central Saharan that ranges from the Tibesti highlands in northern Chad to Bornu in the southwest and the Darfur region in the modern nation of Sudan, in the southeast. It is a graceful language in which the verb comes at the end of the sentence as in Latin and in which there are many polite circumlocutions for saying things diplomatically. Thus if I wish to say a man is untrustworthy, I do not say it outright. Instead I say quietly that he has narrow eyes, which comes from the saying, "A man with narrow eyes has no shame," he lacks proper respect for his obligations to others. There are many greetings which are adjusted to social rank,

daughters of sovereigns were the princes and princesses of the realm. Princesses were often given in marriage by the king to create alliances between the throne and other states, or nobles, or as rewards to trusted followers. Often, one among the princes was designated Chiroma or heir apparent. However, there was no hard and fast rule that the Chiroma either had the title for life, or that having been graced by the title its holder automatically succeeded to the throne. Although there was no special term for royal granddaughter, a king's grandsons who might become princes, if their fathers obtained the throne, were referred to by a special term.

Attached to the royal household by bonds of strict loyalty and obedience were the king's followers, some of whom lived in the palace, while others lived nearby. These, known as Koguna, together with members of the royal family and their followers provided the basis for the nobility of the state. They were of two main types—slave and free—with slaves being divided into ordinary slaves and eunuchs. The slaves originated from the slave trade or from raids made among pagan groups, or from the sons and daughters of slaves. The free nobility came from de-royalized segments of the royal family as it expanded through time and from descendants of nobles. This nobility was the source of personnel for the bulk of the administrative activities of the state. They served as the monarch's personal body-guard, as messengers, military commanders, tax collectors, trusted spies, praise singers, slave raiders, consuls, and foreign emissaries. From their ranks came the people who bore the major titles of the state. Some of the titles were derived from Islam; others came from earlier times in Kanem or Bornu history. Although much changed in their nature, a number of these have survived to the present day.

In order to administer the kingdom, titled nobles, including the titled women of the royal family, were given fiefs equivalent to what are today village area units. All such holdings were fragmented and dispersed so that no one noble had control over any large portion of the state. The fief holdings varied in size and number per noble and were a measure of the political success of that particular noble at any point in time. The one exception was the Galidima. The holder of this title maintained a large consolidated set of village areas on the western boundary to protect the east-west trade and guard the western approaches to the capital city. The fief-holders raised militia for the monarch and taxes for themselves and the monarch. They also served as an appeal court system for the local people when they wished adjudication at higher than the local level. Thus people could obtain a royal audience by going through the fief hierarchy. The Kanuri also used the widespread Sudanese practice of dividing the kingdom into quadrants based on the four cardinal directions. Over each quadrant was a highly trusted follower of the king who could oversee the administration of his own quadrant, raise direct royal tax levies, and serve as an alternative form of hierarchy between the people and their ruler. The system functioned in this way as a check on the power of fief-holders, since the king could take fiefs away and redistribute them if there was sufficient reason for doing so. Through their own subordinates these quadrant leaders also administered the nomadic peoples of the kingdom who could not be easily worked into the administration of the fief system based as it was on settled populations. Two of the four leaders were always eunuchs, making for an automatically free power of appointment by the monarch, since these men had no heirs. The other two were always chosen from among the king's closest associates, although there was also a

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175 ing arms. A wife or female slave often accompanied each man to cook for him. But
704 local townspeople were also expected to supply the army with food when it passed
72 through their territory. However, it was preferred that the army be self-sufficient
[703] even to the point of digging their own wells. Discipline obviously posed some
problems since the records indicate that at times army morale was low, especially
during long, arduous campaigns. However, it picked up very quickly when the pros-
pect of booty was in evidence.

The Nineteenth Century Kingdom

175 From the beginning of the nineteenth century our records and understand-
ing of Bornu society increased enormously mostly because of the availability of ex-
cellent first-hand accounts such as those by Denham and Clapperton in the 1820s,
Barth in the 1850s, and Nachtigal in the 1880s. When put together with the oral
traditions these accounts fill out a fairly complete picture of Bornu society during
the last century.

175 In the early part of the century Bornu political life was complicated by a
178 fiction. The ancient Sefuwa rulers were still holding court while the Kanembu She-
642 hus were in strict control of the state. This meant that many of the ancient titles
lost their meaning because their functions were taken over by members of the
Shehu's following. For example, the title of Kaigama, associated traditionally with
leadership of the army while on a campaign, was dropped. Instead the Shehu used
the title of Kachella, which had previously meant a slave follower who bears arms.
Under the Shehus, Kachellas became powerful leaders of armed regiments of their
own followers, the size of each Kachella's force being an indicator of his power
and rank. At the same time the idea of raising military levies from fiefs was not
dropped. Nevertheless the structure had changed, for now the Shehus used Kachel-
las and their permanent armed following as the military core of the state. Much
• [554] later in the century, after the collapse of the Sefuwa dynasty, the title of Kaigama
or war leader reappeared and was applied to the most powerful of these Kachella.
In other words, a number of the old titles of Bornu could not be used in the nine-
teenth century, since at its beginning these titles were still associated with the old
dynasty and its ancient court.

175 Although titles were varied to some extent, and new ones connected to the
554 names of loyal followers of the Shehu appeared during the double regency, the
642 Shehus organized their governmental administration in somewhat the same manner
178 as that of the earlier Bornu state. The idea of the four quadrants atrophied while
the old quadrant leaders remained under the ancient dynasty; and, as in the case of
the war leader, these titles were not utilized until the old dynasty had been done
away with. They were then absorbed into the general hierarchy of titles of those
closely associated with the Shehu. However, the general idea of administering
through quadrants was never used again. The Shehu's court met every day to dis-
cuss state matters and adjudicate cases when necessary. The Shehu sat on a raised
dais and behind him in a semi-circle sat the male members of the royal family who
[643] were eligible for the throne. Sitting facing one another in two parallel lines in
front of the group were nobles of the realm, slave and free, except for the Galidi-

ma, who when he was in court, sat in front of the throne facing the same way as the Shehu between the two lines. This symbolized his semi-independent status as a holder of a large section of the kingdom rather than a set of fragmented fiefs. Thus the idea of a consolidated set of fief-holdings on the western boundary was maintained. There was a constant threat from the Fulani which made such a move politically expedient.

How much actual power this nineteenth-century court actually had is debatable. Obviously a few favorite advisers who had the ear of the monarch could become very powerful men during the period of their favor. However, who these were seems to have varied throughout the century. Indeed even a place in court might be gained by a very ambitious rural chief, if he appeared often enough and was able to please the monarch by his service and tributes. In the realm of the judiciary some significant changes occurred as well. Before the nineteenth century, as we have already noted, there was a chief judge, the Talba, who was ranked as "the second man" in the state. During the double regency at the beginning of the century, the first Shehu, Laminu, acted as his own chief judge. He was steeped in Koranic learning and is supposed to have had magical powers that enabled him to adjudicate even the most difficult of cases, harshly but with justice. Parenthetically, this power—and not his military acumen and leadership—is considered by the traditions to have been the chief reason why Laminu saved Bornu from the Fulani wars. Later in his rule, sometime in the 1820s, Shehu Laminu appointed two leading religious personages who came from the families of the leading Bornu religious practitioners to the new offices of Liman and Imam. The former took over the major duties of chief legal adviser to the Shehu, while the Imam became the chief religious practitioner in the state. The old Talba stayed with the court of the former dynasty, and after its demise the title became a lesser one in the judicial hierarchy which is where it stands today.

Punishments for misdemeanors were relatively harsh by contemporary standards. Adultery on a Muslim holy day could bring 400 lashes to a man or 200 to a woman. It was believed that judges in the capital of Kuka actually set spies upon the populace in search of law breakers. Intentional murder was punishable by death, and the relatives of the dead man carried out the execution by stoning the murderer. Thieves who were repeatedly caught finally had a hand cut off or were tortured by being buried up to the neck, then having their heads buttered or honeyed and exposed above the ground to attract insects. Unpaid debts proven in court resulted in the confiscation of all the debtor's movable property and a fine to the court. The debtor was pinned to the ground by court officials until he consented to confiscation. However, if he obviously had no means at all, the judge dismissed the case with the words, "God send you the means."

All titled officials and even untitled followers of the Shehu could be given or they could inherit, at the pleasure of the Shehu, rights of revenue collection and administration in one or more settlements spread throughout the entire state. These fiefs were granted by the Shehu, nominal owner of all the land in the state. Generally speaking such rights were hereditary in the male line, but the Shehu could diminish or expand the holding of one fief-holder at the expense of another, and a new monarch was expected to patronize his own favorites. Any person holding a fief directly from the monarch was called a *chima kura* or "the big lord." There

175 they often became a separate fief, or in some cases were absorbed into the territorial
361 organization of the original fief. Again, the big lord might also settle some of his
634 slaves in the fief, or he might ask to settle them in someone else's fief, or be asked
412 by some other high ranking person if he would allow slaves to be settled in one of
527 his own fiefs. Slaves delivered the results of their work on the land, and in craft-
work directly to their own master whether this was the big lord of the fief or not.
If they were in someone else's fief, presents were sent by their master to the senior
fief-holder—the big lord—in the capital. It was also possible for the monarch or
792 the big lord to settle holy men, men learned in the Koran, on a fief and such settle-
ments were generally tax free.

175 There were two main taxes and innumerable smaller ones. Indeed, in the
631 Kanuri language it is possible to denote the meaning of taxation, a tax on some-
192 thing, by simply adding the suffix "ram" to the activity or the object. Of the two
093 main annual taxes, collected after the harvest, one went to the fief-holder and the
other to the Shehu. The big lord collected tax on the basis of assessment of local
produce by a special tax messenger who went out to the fief and after conferring
with local leaders agreed on the tax. All who cooperated in tax collection kept
some for themselves, passing surpluses on up the hierarchy to the big lord. In turn
the fief-holder always gave gifts to the ruler upon receipt of their own fief-holder
tax. Each year the Shehu appointed his own tax messengers from among the nobility
and collected a royal tithe from the various fiefs. These men might and might
not be fief-holders in their own right, but very often they were not collecting in
their own fiefs. Other taxes were annual fees to local headmen, fees for clearing
new land, for using new market space, for adjudication, for craftwork, for irriga-
tion (where present), for extending any kind of privilege, etc. The system was es-
sentially the same for the nomad groups, but one related complication should be
noted. The people from dispersed localities owed some small taxation privileges to
their previous headmen, even though they now lived in new settlements within
new fiefs and were required to pay major taxes to their new settlement leaders.

175 One final point about the pre-colonial political system should be made. To
178 understand such a kingdom it is necessary to keep distinct at all times the concept
554 of a title from that of an office. The Kanuri kingdom had great rosters of noble ti-
66 tles that through time varied in number, numbers of holders per title, and the
name of title. Some pre-nineteenth century titles such as the *Fufuma* or lord of the
ancient capital city of Birni Ngazargamo dropped out of use. There were a number
of men entitled Shettima while there was only one Digma or one Yerima. The ti-
551 tles are honorific, and even personal names which were attached to originally pow-
erful households have become titles during Bornu's long history. Titles embellish a
man's political duties, and even provide some opportunities for furthering his ambi-
tions if their past history, or the activities of a title holder, enable him to manipu-
late the situation successfully for his own advancement. Offices on the other hand
are positions in government giving the incumbent rights, duties, and obligations.
An office may almost completely coincide with the title, as in the case of the ancient
monarch whose title was Mai for probably a thousand years, and Shehu for the
last century and a half. Or again offices can vary independently of titles. Thus the
title of Digma which was held by a man with many official duties and much power
in the mid-nineteenth century had changed by the end of the century, and the man

holding this title had very few of these offices left—they were now the rights of persons holding quite different titles.

The economy of Bornu was a semi-specialized one. Almost everyone grew some crops, except a few cattle nomads, but at the same time during the long dry season people carried on craftwork, trade, and other specialized activities, such as providing medical or barbering services, or entertainment for those who were willing to pay. Everyone had access to new land, over which a person might establish ownership by his act of clearing it. If he used the land for only a few years, and stopped, then the land passed back into bush with no owner. Continued long-term use, especially that involving inheritance, meant that the owner could do with it what he pleased and transfer it to whomever he pleased. In other words the Kanuri had property concepts of usufruct or use-right, but they also had notions of freehold or private property in which land could be transferred by an individual after he had used it for a long time, or it had been passed on to his heirs.

The people raised specialized crops in the kingdom and practiced a myriad of different crafts. Each local craft was organized into a craft guild that helped set production and price standards under a local craft leader who benefited economically from his position and tried to pass it down through the male line. Markets, too, were under headmen and all goods to be traded went to weekly markets to which came thousands of people from the surrounding area.

Trade was accomplished by barter for the most part, although several forms of currency developed, which can be called special purpose or limited purpose money. For various kinds of trade, and within limits, certain objects—a man's robe, iron bars, slaves, horses, cotton rolls, Maria Theresa dollars, and other items—could be used. The trans-Saharan trader came to Bornu for slaves; he therefore demanded payment in slaves, and slaves became a kind of currency for this trade. People from Bornu traded south of Lake Chad for iron bars. These bars could be used to purchase anything in the markets southeast of Bornu where they were the chief export commodity. The same thing is true of cloth in the southern areas of Bornu where it was manufactured and where it was a major export item. Cloth rolls purchased any number of commodities from Bornu but only in that north-south trade. Cowrie shells came very late to Bornu (1820-1850) and never achieved the success as currency that they did elsewhere.

Another and important method of distribution of goods was carried out within the political system itself. Political superiors gave out enormous quantities of cloth, food, horses, and robes on particular holy days or special events such as rites of passage, or wrestling matches. On one occasion a witness in the early part of the century watched the Shehu give away more than a thousand men's robes and an equal number of bullocks and sheep. Although one would expect the leaders to give more than other men, they also served as a model for the population so that the amount of distribution actually carried on in this way must have been very great indeed.

Another important facet of the economy was foreign trade. Although the famous trans-Saharan caravans are supposed to have declined during the nineteenth century, by all accounts they were still of considerable importance for Bornu. Into Bornu came calico, cotton prints, fine silk, sword blades, writing paper, looking glasses, needles, razors, scissors, knives, cheap jewelry, and guns mostly from Eu-

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM · 35

These rules of inheritance are followed very closely in practice, because everyone knows that any dispute over inheritance that cannot be settled amicably between the surviving relatives goes to court—and the court normally takes ten percent of the estate for its adjudication services in an inheritance dispute. When a man is called into the courts, and most Kanuri have been to court at some time in their lives, he must go with his agnates—his father, paternal grandfather, father's brothers, sons, father's brother's sons, and any other male he can muster who is related to him in the male line. This agnatically related group is legally responsible as a whole for the acts of each of its members unless a crime against the state has been committed. A Kanuri who is threatened immediately thinks of this group as the one that he can turn to for help. As we shall see later the group often lives close together so that the agnates are neighbors as well as a corporate group in the eyes of the law. They help one another in many day-to-day activities, perform ceremonies together, and often practice the same or closely related occupations.

Although there is an emphasis on a person's agnates, his kin relations through his mother are also quite important. People who have no matrilineal kin (those related to a person through the mother), or very few of them, are considered to be unfortunate because they lack that much warmth and affection in their lives. These kin, say the Kanuri, love you like a mother loves her child. You can feel at home with them in a way that is less conflict-ridden than any other kinship relation. People often said that if they had to borrow money it was better to go to mother's kin first before asking anyone related to them agnatically. There is always some tension over property among an agnatic descent group because it is the major one for purposes of inheritance, family wealth, and privileges. People say that if a man borrows from his father or his father's brothers, or his brothers, or his patrilineal cousin, he is trying to get his inheritance or that of his brothers before the proper time. Furthermore, the responsibility in court, and in the eyes of public opinion, of one agnate for another also increases the tensions in this group as compared to the matrilineal one. By contrast, however, a man with no agnates is not just unfortunate—he is a social outcast. He has no group to stand up for him as a result of his birth into society; he has no legal right to a father's inheritance, he is thought of as an outcast, he must rely solely on his wits, and he cannot easily be trusted.

A village area chief and his advisers declared that I should not hire a certain man and claimed that they were going to see to it that I certainly did not take him into my household. They told me that no one in the vicinity knew his brothers or his father, or his father's brothers, or indeed if he had any, or where they might be, and he would not volunteer any information on the subject. In their eyes he was not a responsible person, and if he did anything wrong there was no group they could call into account for it. Unless he could attach himself to a household, he simply had no means of achieving an accepted position in the community, and the village leaders did not like the idea of making me, a European stranger, responsible for this unknown man.¹ Obviously under such circumstances illegitimate

¹This would mean that as his household head I must appear in court if and when he did something wrong. The local leaders did not believe they could require this responsibility from me, and were thus faced with the problem of allowing into their community a man for whom no one could vouch, yet giving him a paid place in one of its wealthiest households.

tives, usually female relatives, in the name of the groom; these are called the *kwororom*, or the asking-a-question payments. Secondly, there are the formally recognized payments. The first of these is a large one called the *luwaliram*, given to the *luwali*, or the man who officially gives the bride to the groom and to whom she will return if she ever runs away or separates from her husband. This is followed several weeks later by a *sada'u*, a small fee given to the girl's family through her *luwali* on the morning of the wedding day. And thirdly there are a number of small payments paid out to the girl and her young friends, to the female relative(s) who accompany her to the groom's house, and to any unmarried sister she has left behind. The groom receives a few small gifts from the girl's family, and on the morning of the wedding day when the *sada'u* is paid, he receives gifts of money, clothes, and even on occasion a horse. He never knows beforehand, however, just how much or how little this "rebate" will come to in relation to his own outlay for the marriage.

When the status of the two families is similarly low, as it is in the vast majority of rural marriages, then there is very little worry over bridewealth. Generally it is not very high and almost standardized for the locality. An important man always pays more bridewealth because everyone believes he can afford it. Paying more for everything he does, including marriage, is one of the ways he validates or proves his higher social rank. An interesting insight is also gained when it is realized that not only is the status of the person getting married taken into account, but also the status of those whom he is associated with and whom he can count on for help. In our little town of Magumeri many people tried to have their daughters marry members of my household because, as they laughingly admitted, they knew I would help my household members with bridewealth, and my apparently wealthy status in Magumeri meant that payments could be set a good deal higher than usual for such a marriage.

No matter what the status of the two families may be, girls who have not been married before command a much higher set of bridewealth payments, and more of them. The magnitude is often three to five times as much and in extreme cases it goes even higher than that. Men tend to give more as they grow older and can afford it, while conversely women often receive less as they go from one marriage to the next. Kanuri say that a woman who has been married many times has been used a great deal and is therefore worth much less than others who have not had so many marriages and been used as much. On the other hand, if she remained with previous husband(s) for longer periods, has a reputation for quiet obedience, and staying inside the household, then the groom feels more confident about her and will pay more. Similarly if the woman has borne children and has demonstrated her fertility, she is also worth more. Although some men know practically nothing about their wives to be, others investigate them and inquire into the reasons for previous marriage break-ups and so on. Was it because her previous husband beat her, or because she was an adulteress, or was excessively jealous of co-wives? Did she not perform her wifely duties properly, or show proper respect to her husband? Certainly some men like to know what kind of wife they are getting and this affects their willingness to pay bridewealth. However, it is not uncommon for a Kanuri man to say that he knew a particular wife for only a week, or perhaps just a day or two before they were married. In this case the woman's marital record is

price at this time of year for nearly everything, including weddings and bride-wealth, goes up. 583

When all the exchanges are completed everyone participating in a wedding gets some present of money, food, and clothing. The *luwali*, especially at first marriages, gets the bulk of the bridewealth and distributes the rest to the girl's family both on her mother's and her father's side. After the first marriage the girl tends to keep more and more of the bridewealth for herself, giving the *luwali* what amounts to a fee for serving as the official bride-giver. It is also important to note that when there are disputes between a husband and wife, the first person to whom both turn for arbitration is the *luwali*. 583

The Kanuri think of getting married in several ways. First of all they divide all marriages into first marriages (to take a girl or a small girl), and secondary marriages with a divorced woman (to take a woman or to take a divorced woman). First marriages take place for a girl around the time of puberty, while boys do not marry until they are in their late teens or early twenties, and young men of twenty-eight and twenty-nine who have not yet been married are not hard to find. 582

An interesting sidelight on marriage with previously unmarried young girls is the ambivalence men feel about it. Men obtain much prestige from such a marriage. But its cost invariably puts a man into great debt, and consummation of the marriage itself, traditionally, is a semi-public affair in which old women related to the girl sit outside the marriage hut and whisper to their newly-wed relative that she must resist the advances of her husband. They do this until very late at night or until they are given some proof of the girl's virginity by the husband. They then make a fearful clatter in the town or village to announce the premarital chastity of their young relative. Standards of personal appearance and sexual attraction are important to Kanuri men and center on more sexually mature women. Such standards deal with hair style, facial symmetry, type of walk, and other physical attributes and skills, as well as ability at wifely chores. None of these attributes are in any degree well-developed among young girls, so that the man must control himself and almost publicly proclaim his manhood and sexual prowess with a young girl who is not defined as sexually exciting by the culture. This causes much anxiety and I have seen men praying almost continually for several weeks in order to gain the strength to carry out a virgin's consummation. It is important to note that when some western educated Kanuri talk about marriage they immediately fasten on this semi-public consummation of the girl's first marriage as a custom that will be dropped in the future, and certainly one they do not intend to carry out or even allow in their lives. From the girl's point of view, as education in western-style schools becomes more common and the length of time in school increases, then the time of first marriage for the girls will move ahead. At present however there are only a handful of Kanuri girls who attend schools beyond the age of traditional marriage. 585

But what is the basis for the conflict? Why are men willing to suffer to gain such an unattractive wife? Men always explain it in the same way. A young girl has never been touched sexually by other men; he is the first; he can train her as he likes, and teach her to be a proper wife to suit his own personal wishes. Besides, it is a good Muslim custom, they always add, as they do about almost every custom when they are asked. In this case they are correct, for such young marriages are very 585

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[571] widespread throughout the Islamic world. However there is more to it than that—indeed it comes close to the heart of the Kanuri way of looking at things. Kanuri social life is a constant search for fruitful social contacts in which one man is the superior and the other a subordinate to him. Between the sexes, the culture defines women as inferior in rank to men. Thus the place universally available to all men for the achievement of subordinates is the family and the household, and the ideal female subordinate is a young girl, one who has not yet been divorced, that is rejected her subordination to her husband, and one whom the husband can train to become properly obedient to his own personal wishes. Thus marriage to a previously unmarried girl symbolizes what every man wants, not sexually, but socially; unblemished and complete obedience from docile subordinates who receive material benefits in return for subordination. Seen in this light the marriage with young girls [183] then becomes more understandable for it represents some of the most profoundly important values in the society.

587 Most Kanuri do not, however, marry girls who have never been married before. Generally they marry a *zower*—or divorced woman. This is carried out with much less ceremony than the virgin marriage. Men may see a divorced woman they like and simply send a friend who asks if she would like to marry. Or the men may begin an affair with her, give her market money once a week just as he would a wife, and then during this time decide whether or not he and this woman should proceed towards a marriage. Such liaisons are considered formally to be illegal extramarital relations, but in everyday life they are tolerated as a form of courtship. Harsh approbation is directed toward sexual relations by a man with another man's wife. Thus although a very few men claim to remain chaste in their relations with a divorced woman, most men agree that there is nothing seriously the matter with a discreet affair with such a person.

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582 more or less *pardab*, or wifely confinement within the household. Generally, it is made quite clear before the marriage begins just how much constraint the husband expects. And for the most part such restrictions are positively related to the class and status of the husband. Thus the higher the status of the husband, the greater [534] the probability of almost total confinement on the part of the wife. Certainly all Kanuri men would like their wives to remain inside the compound, however very few can afford to insist. To do so necessitates that there must be a well inside the compound, enough wealth so that the husband does not require the wife's work in the fields, and enough help so that he can send a male servant or client along with her on the few occasions when it becomes absolutely necessary for her to go out.

582 The Kanuri themselves categorize a few other forms of marriage on the basis of the relations already existing between the partners, or being set up by the marriage. They speak of cousin marriage, marriage with a religious practitioner, marriage with a wealthy or powerful person (a marriage of pleasure) as varieties of unions. They also mention the possibility of the sororate (marriage with a person called sister by one's dead wife) and the levirate (marriage by the younger brother of his dead brother's wife or wives). These latter are quite rare, and I have only recorded one case of the levirate in the last ten years, and none of the sororate. 595 Kanuri think marriage with wife's sister, or person she calls sister while she is still

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592 uses it to benefit himself and his brother, the group tends to remain intact rather
593 than break up. The following statement by an informant illustrates some of the
592 forces at work in the continuity of a household organization that has gone on for
593 more than one generation.
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I did not have a father and was now living in the house of my elder brother who was head of the house. I therefore had to give my brother the same discipline-respect as a father and keep myself continually under his command. I wanted a wife. (All my other brothers had married and moved out to form their own households by now), but my brother ordered me to wait patiently until I learned the occupation (butchering) properly. He said, "... continue to stay in my house and carry grass for my horse and learn the butcher's trade, and I will feed you and give you money for spending and I will buy your clothes." But I was not happy and saved my money in secret, saved enough to take a wife of my own. They were cheap in those days. My older brother was angry and did not agree to the marriage for he still wanted me to stay in his compound. But I did not wish to do that, and so I moved away to a house that X, the husband of my mother's sister in Maiduguri owned here in the butcher's quarters.

The informant felt that his older brother was taking advantage of him and so he planned secretly to start up a household on his own. The brother might have kept him, had he been more generous and supplied a wife to his younger brother, as a really successful compound head would have under similar circumstances. Another informant, a money lender, had very little status because of his money-lending activities, but was the possessor of great wealth. He managed to keep his brothers near him and their sons and the wives of all of these plus a number of other people who he supported with loans, defended in the courts, and loaned money to for wives and for trading purposes. He arranged for their marriages and sometimes even obtained girls for them. On the other hand, they served him loyally as messengers, laborers, and loyal supporters in the community at large. A number of people, men and women, move completely away from former households when they get married and move out on their own. This depends basically on what advantage they see in it for themselves, and, in the city, on the availability of land and rent.

592 About forty percent of the ordinary peasant households have one or two un-
591 married adult men living in the compound who are not members of the family at all. They help the household head on his farm plots, carry grass for his horse, take messages for him to friends and relatives, carry his goods to market, learn his dry season non-farming occupation, and give him the utmost loyalty when he must face any community opposition whatsoever. In return, the household head feeds them, clothes them, acts as their protector in local disputes when he can, and helps them with their bridewealth and marriage arrangements. These clients are called *tada njima* (son of the house). They refer to the household head as *abba njima* (father of the house). They treat their *abba njima* with all the discipline and respect that they give their own father and expect from him the same kind of behavior a son expects from a father, indeed more so because only loyalty and obedience, and what one obtains in return for these qualities, can maintain the relationship, since there is no basis in kinship for its continuity.

The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bar-*

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The important point to be made here is that the Kanuri feel that the *bag-zum*³ or discipline-respect ingredients of the father-son relationship can be transferred. This does not mean that they forget their own fathers who are their biological kin. However it does mean that they use the norms of the father-son relationship for self-advancement or for relating to other people as they would to their father, in return for those things that they obtain traditionally from a father. Kanuri were always coming to me and addressing me as their father, or asking for a small gift in the hope that they might repay me with some discipline and respect and begin initiating a *tada njima* role for themselves with me as their *abba njima*. However, there is more to initiating the role than simply asking me for a gift or doing a service. In order for it to work there must be *aman* or trust. A man must know when he brings a client into his household that he will try to behave like a son. Even then he waits patiently and watches to see how firm and fast the professed loyalty really is. Most Kanuri say that a year is not too long a period to wait while testing out the strength of such a relationship before actually giving the person (the *tada njima*) some real responsibilities from which both the household head and the client might gain.

This means of adding to a household can produce very extensive groupings under the proper conditions. If a man has a powerful political post, either in the traditional or modern post-colonial administration, his activities in trade, farming, tax collection, or adjudication means that he can use a large following of loyal and obedient clients. The transferability of the father-son relationship allows men to build up such organizations whenever they have the means to maintain them. Kanuri judge success in life not by wealth or power per se, but by the size of a man's following. And the best indication of this is the size of the household and those related households over which he has some control. Thus great households, the greatest of which is that of the Shehu of Bornu, form the upper class group of Kanuri society. Wealthy traders have many *tada njima* who, after their loyalty has been proven, are given goods and money to go out and trade for their superiors. Bornu society is such that powerful men, indeed any man wishing to raise his status, require loyal followers and clients who use the ingredients of the father-son relationship to define their interpersonal relations. Certainly many of the people a man may depend upon are members of his own descent group, but kinsmen differ from clients in a number of important respects. Kinsmen may profit not only by one another's success, but through inheritance they also gain by each other's death. Or if a particular prerogative, say access to political office of some kind, resides in one male line, then an office-holder's male relatives may profit from his dismissal since one of them may be considered as a replacement. Furthermore relationships based on descent cannot be broken completely—some mutual dependence always remains—even though a superior dislikes the services of his descent group member who is serving as his subordinate. Clientship is more rational in this respect since clients can in effect be "fired" for poor performance of their duties. Thus clientship, represented by the *tada njima* relationship, is a flexible and useful tool in the building of Kanuri households and even larger social groupings.

Finally it is important to remember that all of these important relationships are basically those within a household. This is the stage upon which family life

³ The letter ɔ is pronounced as the "oo" in "look" or "book."

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882 developed physically had not yet married. There were many rumors and much gossip
883 to the effect that she was no longer a virgin and that men of the town slept with
581 her. Her father, it was said, would have a hard time arranging her first marriage.
156 The girl herself seemed to be suffering increasingly from her inability to see herself
in the role of a child awaiting marriage instead of that of a developing young ma-
tron—the role now common among her young age mates. Thus in order to take up
a normal position in society, girls are supposed to have their first marriages in and
around the time of puberty. Failure to do so indicates a deviant and degrading de-
velopment. This is the reason why almost all Bornu men say that girls who go on
883 in the educational system are "spoiled" and should never be allowed to stay in
882 school beyond the traditional age of marriage. The girls in school see the matter
872 differently; the situation remains today one of tension, with the majority against
578 education for girls, and the schools themselves looking for students and preaching
a somewhat different attitude toward a girl's adolescence than that held tradition-
ally by the people.

882 Another point should also be noted. Most girls have very little choice, if
883 any, in their first marriage arrangements. If they are very drastically opposed to the
584 union, their views are considered since parents are afraid they might behave badly
as young wives. However they are traditionally supposed to respect the wishes
of their parents and comply with their demands. Indeed many Kanuri, both men
and women, know very little about their first marriage arrangements at all since
these are almost entirely made by their parents or the head of the compound they
are living in at the time. It should also be realized that many Kanuri girls marry
for the first time with men sometimes as much as two, three, and even four times
their own age which enhances the traditional seniority of the husband as well as
taking any "romance" out of it for the girls.

881 Sometime around the end of childhood and into the beginning of the teen-
1304 age period young boys are circumcized. This event is fundamentally a ceremonial
occasion and is thus related only in a rough general way to the actual onset of pu-
berty for each boy. Generally speaking boys are cut in groups, although in rural
areas it is not uncommon to see a family performing the ceremony for just one boy
• [554] in the household. On the other hand circumcision among high-ranking people such
as village heads, district heads, members of the royal family, or rich traders in the
city attracts many other families who try to have their own children cut at the same
time to participate in the large festivities. Usually the higher the rank of the lead-
ing families involved in a circumcision the greater the number of boys who are
likely to be cut at the same time.

881 The important thing is not the readiness of the boy. Rather it is the auspi-
571 ciousness of the occasion in terms of the family's relationship to the rest of the
community. Is there a large circumcision taking place this year? Are a large number
of friends and relatives asking when little Abba Gana is going to be circumcized?
Have the household members, especially the household head, attended a great many
marriage or naming ceremonies? Have other community members been given gifts
on these occasions? Is it not time to reap the benefit of all this participation by
having a ceremony of one's own to which many people will come and bring gifts
of food, clothing, and money for the family and the boy? These and similar ques-
tions are the determining factors in the timing of the circumcision ceremony, and

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Clothing, like food, is in the hands of the household head although, and as in the case of food, he is always pressured to obtain and distribute more than he can afford. At harvest time, or major religious ceremonies during the year, and at celebrations of *rites de passage* by household members, new clothing is in order and is expected by everyone. Clients and subordinates in nearby households expect gifts of clothing as well. Wealthy men may find it necessary to purchase several hundred men's robes a year just to satisfy their many dependents; on the other hand, a normal peasant-householder can usually get by annually with under a half a dozen for male household members including himself and a similar number of women's robes for his wives.

Household heads must also organize and pay for repairs to compound walls and sleeping huts, fuel and equipment for cooking fires, and kerosene for the lamps. They must supply as well the ladies of the household with money for their fortnightly hair styling, perfumes, pomade for rubbing on their skin, and kola nuts. When someone is sick, they must consult the religious practitioner and the native doctor who diagnose the case, start the necessary prayers, and sell charms to effect a cure. Besides all this they must enter into community life, go to the weddings, naming ceremonies of friends, and have these friends come to their own ceremonies. Each time they attend affairs they and their household members must give gifts to those responsible for the ceremony. The more a man gives and the more often he goes to such ceremonies, the more successful and wealthy and contact-laden he is reputed to be. Most people are prudent and do not go beyond their means. Indeed the Kanuri term for "spendthrift" translates literally as "one who goes to many ceremonies."

Consumption at the household level is organized by the household head and carried out under his guidance and control. He is constantly purchasing more so he can distribute it more generously to more people; yet for the ordinary household the bulk of the expenditure, roughly sixty percent of the household's earning power, is for food, and the next largest item is clothing, at about fifteen percent. This leaves approximately twenty-five percent of the household earning capacity to take care of everything in cash and kind beyond the simple necessities of food and clothing.³

Households as Producers

Kanuri production is tied traditionally to two interrelated factors in the physical and social environment of Bornu. These are, first, the geographical and ecological characteristics of the area, and secondly, the way in which agricultural and nonagricultural pursuits complement one another in the economy. The Bornu area has a short rainy season from June to September and crop production is carried out during these months. Planting begins about the time of the first rains, and the first hoeing takes place shortly afterward. The second hoeing is carried on from the beginning of October to the end of November. Each hoeing requires between two to three weeks' work and harvesting may take as long as a month to a month and a half. Between these periods, beyond occasional scrutiny to see that straying

³ These data and much of the other material for this chapter were obtained (a) from detailed budget studies in a small sample of twenty-two rural households, and (b) from a less detailed survey of seventy-five rural households in three villages in the Magumeri area.

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To make calabashes Ka'anami buys dried half-gourds, then scrapes the excess vegetable matter from the inside and burns designs on the outer surface with hot irons. The tools are simple, merely a number of wood-handled iron blades made by the local blacksmith. Add to this charcoal for the fire to heat the irons, and the list of materials necessary for his occupation is complete. In the dry season when he is not planting Ka'anami makes about two calabashes a day on Fridays and Saturdays—the two days before Magumeri's market day, on Sunday. On Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday he goes to other markets or makes calabashes on commission for people who want special orders. On the average he makes about fifteen calabashes per month for the four months of the wet season. For the dry season he estimates that his productivity goes up to about twenty a month. This means that on his own Ka'anami produces about 250 to 300 calabashes a year. If this sounds like a lot, it must be remembered that he sells them for anything between forty cents and seventy-five cents each. Subtract from this the cost of the gourds (about fifteen cents each) and add the fact that some weeks he doesn't sell all his wares, and it is easy to realize that the entire proceeds of Ka'anami's craftwork do not produce much beyond \$150 to \$200 per year in income.

Ka'anami's father, his father's younger brother, and one of his father's younger brother's sons, plus a man who for years has been a subordinate to Ka'anami's father all live in adjoining compounds and all make calabashes. Each compound is to a large extent independent, yet all originally were under the guidance and direction of Ka'anami's father who considers himself the leader of this group of households. If higher political authorities in the village wish to contact anyone in this group they invariably do so through Ka'anami's father thus recognizing his leadership and giving it legitimacy in the community.

In summary this way of productive life is far removed from the regular eight-hour day of the industrial worker. Ka'anami could no doubt produce more calabashes if he worked more rapidly and for longer hours and more days a week. But he doesn't have to—his efforts support his family and himself, and Ka'anami likes his life. He enjoys sitting in an entrance hut in his part of town with friends and relatives, people he has known all his life, talking, joking, gossiping, and moralizing about rural events. Indeed even a casual brush with Ka'anami's life indicates that he sits talking and resting in the shade for long periods of time. But he works too, and when he does he often sits around a common fire at his father's entrance hut with the other calabash makers talking or singing softly while each man looks to his own hot irons and unfinished gourds. Even when he works alone in his own compound or with his brother Dolo, friends come to visit him, or he dandles his infant daughter on his lap while cleaning out a gourd. His family, his friends and neighbors, and his fellow workers, are all interwoven into the pattern of his household life and his relation to the surrounding households. Thus the social and economic side of Ka'anami's life is part of the same fabric—this is the human side of cottage industry.

In the case below we see another household in which *tada njima* or client apprentices are more prominent and yet many of the same kinds of social and economic relations prevail.

MALA BUKAR, THE BUTCHER The butcher's craft, although lucrative in relation to other activities like Ka'anami's or blacksmithing, is a low status occupation, and many butchers including Mala Bukar are quick to say that

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their families were not butchers in times past but conditions have forced them to "take up the knife." The craft requires anatomical knowledge of animals and a skilled use of the knife to cut and clean them. Besides this it necessitates continuous relations with cattle owners, many of whom are Shuwa and Fulani nomads who wander through the area.

Mala Bukar lives with his two wives, the younger of whom has a small child aged three, and two *tada njima* who are his apprentices. There are five huts in the compound, one each for the wives, one for Mala Bukar, one for the two apprentices, and one for meat storage. The apprentices are both unrelated to Mala Bukar by kinship, but both are the sons of butchers who are well known to him. The young boys explained that they wished to travel about the country before they settled down as butchers in their home villages. They treated Mala Bukar as they would their own father giving him all the subordination and respect due to a compound head. Mala Bukar's immediate neighbors, one to the north of him and one just to the east of him, are his younger brothers. One sells hides and skins, the other is a butcher and works closely with him although they generally butcher separately. They do, however, buy from nomads together, and often the younger brother looks after Mala Bukar's stall in the various markets they journey to together.

[428] The three brothers inherited their "house-farms" from their father. Mala Bukar—as the older brother who took over his father's household—took half while the other half was divided between the two younger brothers. Since then he has cleared one plot in free land far from town, and his apprentices are busy clearing a new one which Mala Bukar says is being cleared to replace an old one used for the last time several years ago (it is now fallow). The apprentices are also clearing small plots of their own near to the one they are preparing for the butcher and hope to get some extra cash from ground-nuts. Generally Mala Bukar estimates he obtained about ten bags (one ton) of millet and three bags (600 pounds) of ground-nuts.

[241] [964] The farm work itself is done by Mala Bukar's two wives and his apprentices who do not work together because it would be considered shameful for them to have to interact socially for any length of time. Mala Bukar decides on what is to be planted, when, and in what plots. He also decides on hoeing dates, and the time and scheduling of the harvest. The wives do less actual work in the field than many of their rural counterparts because of the apprentices, although they still take or send out cooked food to the boys during the hoeing season. Mala Bukar also [434] gives his wives the hooves of slaughtered animals which they are able to sell for extra spending money.

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The work schedule of the household is tied to the supply of Mala Bukar's meat and local demands for it. During the dry season he slaughters mostly sheep and goats while the rainy season which brings the cattle nomads is more heavily the time for beef preparation. He almost always butchers on Saturdays, the day before the village market day, and may do some more on Sunday if selling is brisk at the market. During Sunday he hears about conditions in the villages close by that have markets on Monday and Tuesday. If demand there seems promising, or if he has unsold stock, he attends the Monday and Tuesday markets as well.

Even with the apprentices, however, his turnover is not excessive. In the dry season he kills about four goats and/or sheep per week, and once in a while, usu-

The District Organization

In Bornu the lawan represents a link between the higher political authorities and the ordinary peasant. To the people in the rural areas he is the most apparent and easily reached member of the ruling classes. Their hamlet and ward heads are leaders but only in a local sense, while the lawan represents the authority of the central emirate government since he is officially appointed by this body. To many ordinary villagers the exact nature of the political organization above the level of the lawan is not at all clear. They know that beyond the lawan there is the district head and above him the Shehu of Bornu, but the various councils and agencies of the emirate government are things they know very little about in detail. 632

In terms of the emirate as a whole, however, the district head and his organization of the district is the pivotal political focus in Bornu. His is the office through which all central government policies from the capital are translated into action at the local level. Conversely, if there are any disturbances, irregularities in tax revenues, increases in crime, migration out of the district, or failure in any policy goals or action programs, it is to the district head that all the agencies at the center turn for an explanation. 634

To the lowly peasant the district head is a man in another world, a world of awesome power, riches, and courtly life. A lawan may go abroad to oversee a new well in one of his hamlets, or to mark off the boundaries of a new farm plot, or to take a tax census, but the district head rarely ever leaves his compound except for the occasional trip to oversee nomad cattle taxation, or to appear in some local ceremonial, or to attend the Shehu's court in the capital. When he does venture forth, it is a royal sally to the playing of pipes and drums, with a troop of galloping horsemen and servants brandishing swords, spears, and muzzle-loading guns. Today this is being changed somewhat by the motorcar which carries the district head quickly and silently, but district heads can still create quite a stir when they wish to go forth officially among the people.

The district organization is basically quite simple. Each of the twenty-one districts in the emirate is identified by the name of its principal village (in some cases these are quite large towns), and this latter serves as the district-capital. In this capital lives the district head and his followers and all the district representatives of the various emirate civil service agencies. These include such installations as a district courthouse for the Alkali (judge) and a primary school formerly up to the end of Standard IV, now almost universally up to secondary school entrance. Formally, the district head is responsible for the administration of all the village areas and any nomadic population that may be living within the confines of the district. [103] 638

The district head is appointed and installed by the Shehu in consultation with his council and the local representatives of the Northern Nigerian government. Only high ranking men in the state are considered and almost all the present district heads are sons of men who held a similar position. There is a growing tendency to try to get men who have some western education, but as yet many of the present district heads speak no English and have not attended western schools. In [64] [554] [177]

On the other hand the local official must work through the district head if he wishes to carry out his job successfully. Children are ordered into the district school through the district head's office. Forestry reserves are set up by his directive; cattle are rounded up by him. Indeed almost any action involving a response by the people in the district must come originally from the district head. A lawan, if approached for cooperation by civil service employees, would generally refuse to cooperate if he had not been first notified by the district head's office. The district head is a high official of the state while the native authority employee is generally the lowest status field representative of his department. Thus they pay the district head respect, stand up when he approaches them, take off their shoes before entering his compound, and consult him on programs they wish to have carried out in his district. 647
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On his part the district head quickly establishes who the native authority officials are, and what families they come from or are connected to in the emirate. If the district head is closely connected by friendship and political alliance to a high-placed official in the local representative's department, then he may have an avenue of control over this local person through the latter's own superior. On the other hand the native authority employee may be connected with the powerful people in the emirate and the district head then knows that this particular official could possibly bring powerful forces into action if a situation warranted it. [554]
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The relationships of the district head to the capital are highly complex and result from the fact that he is the official link between the central government of the emirate and the local political organization of the district. Officially he is responsible to only one body, the central agency of the emirate government which is the Shehu-in-Council. This council, called the Bornu Native Authority Council, under the chairmanship of the Waziri or chief minister, is the highest authority in the emirate. As we noted in Chapter 2, the council acts like a cabinet and each member has a Native Authority department under his direction. District heads receive instructions about policy from the council and directives about programs from each of the departments. The district head delivers taxes to the Native Authority Treasury and must account for his actions to the council which has a major voice in appointing, dismissing, retiring, and transferring district heads from high to low-paying districts or vice versa. 634
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Both during the colonial period and at the present, the Bornu Provincial Government has had several emirates under its jurisdiction, of which Bornu is the largest. Although not officially responsible to the Provincial Government, the district head and his work have always been inspected periodically by touring officers of the Provincial Government. These men can make recommendations which influence the emirate government and during colonial times there are a number of records of district heads being retired or dismissed because of the "advice" of Provincial Government officials. Thus the district head has to be sure his actions are in line with the demands and standards of provincial officials who are today generally from other parts of Northern Nigeria, and were, up to a few years ago, the British colonial officers. [651]
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The district head has other links with the capital as well. As we have already noted, he keeps a household in the palace ward of the capital city, and his followers in his compound under a wakil, or chief follower, visit the palace regu- 631
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439 formerly been in control of the great trans-Saharan trade routes which brought the products of Negro Africa into the European world, the European nations had established direct trading relations with the coastal peoples by the beginning of the sixteenth century and the importance of the trans-Saharan trade began to dwindle. As trade with the north declined in importance, the Sudanese empires founded on this trade were no longer able to maintain themselves.

175 The empire of Bornu, however, continued to exist though much smaller in size. A new capital, Kukawa, was built near [643] the shores of Lake Chad. The ancient Sef dynasty, whose 'Mais' (kings) had ruled since the beginning of the empire, was replaced by the family of El Kanemi, the Kanembu leader who had

• [554] been instrumental in driving out the Fulani. The title of [565] Shehu (Sheikh) replaced that of Mai. Within Bornu proper a [423] feudal system existed. Titled nobility were given huge tracts of land by the Shehu. Though these lords lived in Kukawa, the capital, they collected taxes and otherwise administered their lands.

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649 The weakened empire was unable to resist a final attack, this time from the east. Rabeh, leader of a renegade army from the Sudan which had failed in an attempted revolt there, overran Bornu in 1893. He, in turn, was killed by the French in 1900. In 1902 British forces entered Bornu, and reestablished the line of the Shehus which had been broken by Rabeh's occupation. The British then ruled in Bornu through the considerably altered organization of the former empire. The Shehu of Bornu,

665 Movement (BYM) has become a powerful force in Maiduguri where
178 it elected both representatives in a direct election in 1956. This represented a serious blow to the traditional Kanuri ruling class, and is an indication of important changes in attitude toward traditional leadership in Kanuri culture. It is interesting to note that these changes have been occurring among the most acculturated segments of the population, in urban Maiduguri.

2. Education.

871 Accompanying British rule, a general education system has
177 been introduced in Bornu. Primary schools exist in all the
[872] larger towns, staffed by Kanuri teachers who speak English and have received some training as teachers. Of the school age
871 population only two to three per cent actually attend. Parents
829 resist sending their children to the schools as they see little to be gained in school attendance, and the child, when sent to
[792] school, is an economic loss to the family. They would rather send their children to Kanuri Malams, scholars of the Koran, where they are taught to pray, and to read the Koran by rote. If a child should show aptitude in such studies he would be encouraged to continue studying the Koran with important Malams.
• [354] Such study is considered more vital, more important, more prestigious and ultimately more useful than study in the primary school.

871 Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

Since attendance in the schools is to a certain extent

871 compulsory, it is necessary at least for Village Heads and

555 District Heads to send their sons to school. In addition,

political advancement under the current system demands a cer-

tain amount of education. Thus a paradox: It is necessary

to accept certain non-Kanuri values, to be educated outside
of the traditional Kanuri system, in order to succeed in the
political system which has become incorporated as part of

463 Kanuri culture. Young men who are graduated from secondary

school are trained as sanitation officers, agricultural as-
sistants, veterinary assistants, medical dispensers, hides

and skins inspectors, clerks, and school-teachers. They func-
tion as a professional class, and they are called 'Malam', an
extension of the title given to a learned man which formerly

meant a scholar of the Koran. The presence in a town of vet-
erinary Malams and dispensary Malams, often the sons of Vil-

lage Heads or District Heads, provides a slight incentive to
ordinary villagers to send their sons to school, since these

Malams are salaried employees of the Native Authority. Often

the Malams themselves go into politics and seek appointments

as Village Heads or District Heads, following their fathers.

Thus they return to traditional leadership in the Kanuri com-
munity.

3. Economy.

433 Perhaps the greatest changes which have occurred in Bornu
439 Province are economic--Bornu today is part of the world. The

437 go out to the farmers with cash advances for their crops. The
452 farmer sells his crop to the man who has advanced cash to him.
441 The nuts go to the middleman, who then brings them in bulk to
the company which gave him the large cash advance much earlier.
Sometimes he is unable to get the nuts, either because it has
been a bad season, or because other buyers have bought them.
Too often the money which has been advanced to him is long
since spent. Occasionally a man who has taken a cash advance
from one company to buy nuts sells the nuts which he has bought
to another company which is offering a higher price. He will
then return his original cash advance to the first company with
his regrets.

Thus the concepts of cash and credit have become working
parts of Kanuri culture. Individuals borrow cash in many dif-
ferent sorts of situations. Actual cash for paying a bride-
price, or for buying a bicycle, is much less important than hav-
[356] ing sources of credit from whom one can borrow. A man who is a
shrewd trader can increase his wealth rapidly in present-day
Bornu, and a wealthy class of traders exists today whose members
were poor villagers a generation ago.

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• [354] An interesting consequence of the growth of a wealthy trad-
ing class is that among the Kanuri the bulk of those who take
the pilgrimage to Mecca comes from this class. For centuries
the title of Alhaji, given to one who undertakes the pilgrim-
age, has been a sign of piety, of holiness and personal sacri-
fice. The trip to Mecca was a difficult and expensive one,

178 though there have always been people who walked or rode donkeys.
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556 The modern pilgrimage is usually made by truck, or by chartered
441 plane from Maiduguri to Mecca. A wealthy man, and this usually
[509] means someone engaged in trade, can travel to Mecca and back by
plane for the sum of 120 pounds sterling.

4. The Social System.

177 Many of the political and economic changes brought about
178 by the increasing integration of Kanuri culture within the great-
er orbit of Western culture have resulted in further internal
changes within Kanuri life. These are clearly manifested in
the shifting patterns of the social structure of modern Kanuri
175 society. At the time of the empire, before European contact,
565 the aristocracy was a clearly defined social class whose mem-
bership exercised political power, controlled available sources
of wealth, and enjoyed the prestige deriving from nobility of
[554] family. These characteristics were unified and symbolized in a
title conferred upon a man by the Shehu and inherited in a gen-
565 eral sense, along with wealth and political office. Many of
178 these wealthy and powerful aristocratic families continue to
exist today, and most of the District Heads and other important
political figures are members of such families.

Although the controlling leadership of Kanuri society to-
day can still be traced directly to the aristocracy of former
times and still bears many of its characteristics, the system
is no longer as stable and as self-perpetuating as it formerly

178 was. The changes noted above have made important inroads in
565 the social system. For many political appointments Western
[555] education has become a necessary requirement, and although many
[871] educated people still come from the aristocracy, commoners too
may become educated, may even excel in the schools and receive
jobs of political importance as a result of their scholastic ac-
[866] complishments. Along with modern education, election by direct
vote in the urban areas has allowed commoners to move directly
into politics, as members of the House of Assembly in Kaduna.
This has been of little significance until very recently, but
it represents a mechanism disruptive of the traditional social
system. Lastly, the newly risen wealthy class, of non-aristo-
cratic origin, has been able to take over, in some small measure,
characteristics of the aristocracy through the use of their
[556] wealth. Since they are able to afford to make the pilgrimage,
they benefit from the prestige accruing from being an Alhaji,
[662] They also benefit directly from giving money to political parties
and thereby gain political power.

178 The opening up of new avenues toward wealth, prestige, and
554 political power, the characteristics of the old aristocracy,
565 has resulted in an increasing number of individuals of commoner
family who have been able to achieve these goals. In recent
years such individuals have been rewarded by having important
[645] titles conferred on them by the Shehu. Members of the Shehu's
Council who did not come from aristocratic families have been
[431] granted noble titles. This process has been furthered by the

178 added feature that large sums of money must be distributed when
565 a man receives a title. Thus changes in the meaning and value
554 of noble titles have accompanied the changing position of the
431 aristocracy in the social structure of Kanuri society.

5. Material Changes.

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494 A number of material changes have been introduced which
have also had important ramifications. The first of these is
the communications system. Nowadays trucks go everywhere, carrying people and produce, tying remote towns to the cities, fostering trade, and allowing a much greater amount of individual mobility than existed in former times. Often the trucks pioneered the roads, beating down the bush in order to reach a village and carry out the peanuts, and thereby creating a
[553] road which would later be maintained as such. The roads are maintained by the Provincial Public Works Department, under a
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[653] Provincial Engineer. The Public Works Department is also in charge of rural water supply which is responsible for the digging of new wells. Since the productivity of the region is a
[361] function of available water, the digging of new wells has led to the founding of new villages in sparsely populated areas. A secure and good year-round water supply is necessary for a thriving village. In addition, Fulani herdsmen, always an asset to
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[651] the local economy and a good source for local taxation, will be
178 attracted to new watering places for their cattle. Trucks, roads, and wells have had important effects on the way of life

175 Kukawa while their slaves and subordinates administered their
565 lands and collected taxes. Slaves of the Shehu could them-
631 selves be chimas, and in fact some of the highest titles--
567 those of Kaigama (a general of the army), and Mastrema (a
554 eunuch) were reserved for slaves of the Shehu.

175 The "knights" of the Shehu were titled lords, who served
631 as his kabuna. Each lord also had his own kabuna, who vowed
565 allegiance directly to him. The kabuna of the lord actually
567 administered his lands while he lived in the capital. Many of
them were his slaves, but just as slaves of the Shehu could
themselves be powerful nobles, so too slaves of a lord who
were his kabuna were powerful individuals in the villages under
the jurisdiction of their lord. From his kabuna the lord se-
[632] lected the most trustworthy and rewarded them by having them
[627] appointed town heads (Lowan), or to a lesser extent village
heads (Bulama). The Lowan of a town was directly involved in
administering his town, in adjudicating disputes through arbi-
tration and in collecting the property tax (hara).

634 It was said that the chima was almost the absolute author-
173 ity in his lands. If he saw a horse that he wished to have or
642 a woman whom he admired, he could have them simply by indicat-
ing that he wanted to possess them. No man would refuse him
directly. However, if reports came to the Shehu that a chima
[643] was acting irresponsibly the Shehu could reprimand the man,
and could even remove his title from him. Any man could ap-
175 peal directly to the Shehu for justice. The power of the Shehu
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876 pupils learn to recite suras (chapters) of the Koran by rote.
779 If they should proceed to higher studies they learn to write

875 in Arabic script. Anyone who can recite the Koran and can
write Arabic characters is qualified to be a Malam¹. Prom-
[555] inent Malams may be appointed imams and Alkalis. However, to
reach such heights requires years of study of Koranic texts,
ritual and of law.

• [534] The title of "Malam" signifies respect for the learning
achieved by that individual. A Malam who teaches pupils, how-
[431] ever, is not recompensed by direct payment. Rather, his pupils
[735] bring gifts to him, and his pupils beg for him. The giving of
sadaka noted above takes the form of gifts given directly to
the Malam on ceremonial occasions, and gifts given to his pupils
[372] who beg in his name. Many adult Kanuri men of wealth and so-
[554] cial importance stress piety and continue their Koranic studies.

871 The identification of learning and education with the study
779 of Koran tends to inhibit the growth and expansion of secular
177 education on a Western model, since Kanuri parents see the
554 schools as conflicting with the Koranic Malam, and since study
of the Koran earns such high prestige (though little remunera-
tion).

4. Social Organization.

779 Islam places particular emphasis on the nuclear family. As
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1. Trimmingham, Ibid., p. 81.

779 Trimmingham says, "...Islamic law recognizes only the simple
593 matrimonial family of man, wife, or wives, slaves, and their children, and the Malikite system gives absolute authority to the husband as its head."¹ The Kanuri exemplify this aspect of Islam. The polygamous family is the sole kin unit of any significance.

779 Islam further dictates that a man may have no more than
595 wives, though he may have any number of concubines. A
567 concubine (chir) is a slave taken by her master as a spouse.

554 Slaves have long existed as a stratum of Kanuri society, but only members of the Kanuri aristocracy have concubines. The status of the concubine is recognized by Islamic law.

779 With respect to marriage and the family, Islam permits or
582 specifically prohibits a number of practices which, when taken together, exert a profound influence on social organization. Cousin marriage with both cross and parallel cousins, is permitted under Islamic law. Sadak, strictly defined, is the Islamic marriage payment by the husband to the wife. It is her property, and is conceived of as payment for her virginity.

779 Though not entirely equivalent to a bride-price, sadak becomes
58 part of the bride-price. As indicated above, virginity at the time of a girl's first marriage is strongly stressed. Seclusion of wives (kulle) is valued. The wali (Kanuri luwali) who represents the fathers of both parties at the signing of the

1. Trimmingham, ibid., p. 126.

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5. Slaves--both male and female; chirs and their children.
6. Zogors and bachelors, as temporary members.
7. Tata njima--non-kin.
8. Malams of the Koran--taken in, and provided with a house and food, as an act of charity.

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The term yai is used for members of the household who are not close kinsmen of the household head. This group, some of whom are necessarily present while others are occasionally found, some permanent and others temporary, some kinsmen and others not, forms the central social unit in Kanuri society. Its size and its composition reflects the status of the household head in the larger society, in terms of both the old and traditional system of social stratification, and in terms of present-day realities and opportunities. The solidarity of the household as a unit also reflects the ability of the household head to satisfy the expectations of the various members of his household, and consequently to live up to his own view of himself and his status in Kanuri society. In order to satisfy his wives, his slaves, his tata njima, and to induce people to name sons after him, he must be in a position, economically and politically, which will permit him to meet expectations. They, in turn will labor for him, and by their labors, as well as by their very presence as part of his household, the members of his household will help the household head to validate his status in the society.

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The Kanuri have long had markets and used money, but the use of money is limited to certain spheres of Kanuri culture. Money is used primarily as a medium for the exchange of goods. Its use has just begun to be extended to certain types of land, as noted above, but not all land can be freely bought and sold.

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Similarly, a man's labor is not usually hired according to Kanuri custom. Wealth, therefore, can be acquired through economic activities in the market, but the means for doing this are largely limited to the exchange of goods at a profit. A man cannot acquire greater wealth by using his previously acquired wealth to buy land, and then use the land which he has bought to further increase his wealth. Nor can he directly exploit the labor of other men by paying a cheap price for labor, and selling the products resulting from the labor of others at a profit. Labor, as explained in the section on the Kanuri household, is what one must do for one's household head; the head in return must provide for household members in various ways. Sheer accumulation of greater and greater wealth would not be possible, since the household head must constantly expend his resources to maintain his social position and to satisfy the expectations of the members of his household.

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Respect or prestige (Kanuri: berzem or dareja) is a quality assigned to different positions in a society according to the cultural values of that society. Individuals of high prestige are expected to behave in certain ways, and failure to do

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so results in loss of esteem.¹ A pious and god-fearing man, among the Kanuri, will have earned the respect of his neighbors so long as he continues to behave in that fashion. On the other hand, a Malam of the Koran is respected because he belongs to a category of individuals which has high prestige in Kanuri society. Knowing that he is a Malam, people will treat him with respect. Should he not behave as Malams typically behave, he would suffer a loss of esteem. In this case, piety and study of the Koran are important values in Kanuri society, so that individuals who stress those values in their own behavior are accorded prestige.

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The fourth and final variable which acts as a determinant in the system of social stratification is whether a man has been born a free-man (hambe) or a slave (kalya). This defines his specific relationship to another man, his master, should he have been born a slave, but it has no effect on the three previous variables discussed above. It does not follow that a man born a slave necessarily ranks low in power, wealth or prestige. There is a certain amount of independence in the operation of each of the four variables.

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1. Royalty and Aristocracy.

In pre-contact times social stratification was rigid, and had institutional support and recognition in two customs: the

1. usage here is according to Ralph Linton, The Cultural Background of Personality, (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955), pp. 73-74.

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granting of titles by the Shehu (and before him by the Mais), and the regular practice of slavery.

A title (kagaja) which the Shehu bestowed on a man was both a recognition, and a source of his social position, for the title embodied power, wealth and prestige. Power lay in the political office which accompanied the title; wealth lay in the access to land, labor and taxes which followed from title and office; prestige lay in the recognition by all of the symbolic meaning of the title. Aristocracy and slaves were given titles, but talaka, commoners, never were granted titles in former times.

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One set of titles is held by royalty. The title of Shehu itself is conferred by a council (modules) according to strict rules of succession, after a Shehu dies. Other titles belong to members of the Shehu's family. These are unlike most titles in that they are titles ascribed by virtue of royal kinship and are not conferred to the individual by the Shehu. They include:

Maina - a prince, the son of a Shehu; also brothers of the present Shehu whose father was himself Shehu.

Mairam- (also called Nana) - the daughter of a Shehu.

Maidugu - the grandchild of a Shehu.

Some royal titles are granted by the Shehu to royalty. These are:

Maira - mother of the Shehu. If the Shehu's own mother is dead, another woman is given the title Maira, and functions as the Shehu's 'mother'. The title can be given to someone not of the Shehu's own family, should he wish to do so.

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Mogorom - younger sister of the Shehu. A conferred title which can be given to anyone. If the Shehu does not like his younger sister, he can give the title to whomever he wishes.

Dogoma - also the younger sister of the Shehu, but a lesser title than that of Mogorom.

Gumsu - usually head wife of the Shehu, but the title can instead be given, at the Shehu's pleasure, to another wife.

Kaririroma - head of the Shehu's chira.

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Next let us turn to consider the Chimas, who had been mentioned earlier. Since all land was the Shehu's land, he had the power to give or withdraw the fiefs which were granted to chimas. By custom, certain lands were reserved for the Imam. In addition, the Maira, Gumsu, and Mogorom also had their own fiefs. The remaining lands were largely in the hands of the Shehu's kabuna, his knights and the commanders of his troops.

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The Shehu's kabuna were divided into those who were free (kambe) and those who were slave (kalya). A number of titles which the Shehu granted were reserved for slaves. Among the slave titles, some were titles of kabuna, and others were not. Both of these, kabuna slaves and non-kabuna slaves, could be chimas. The four most important chimas held the following titles: Kaicama (a slave, and the head of all slave kabuna), Mastrema (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yuroma (a slave, but not a kabuna), Yerima (a freeman and a kabuna).

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The most important Kanuri titles, all those mentioned above,

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are individual titles which can be held by only one man at a time. There can be only one Kalgama, one Mastrema, and one Yerima at any given time. A man's son did not invariably inherit his father's title at his father's death. The title was conferred by the Shehu, customarily to the son of the previous title holder. If there were several sons, the one whom the Shehu judged most worthy was given the title; and if a title-holder had no sons, or no sons worthy of holding a title, the title might be given to anyone, though it was almost always given to someone of the household of the title-holder. There are several interesting cases of high titles given to talaka who were members of a household (the present holder of the title Talba is a slave who was given the title because there were no sons of the previous Talba; a horse boy inherited the title of Kalgama in the past; the Malam to the family, and a member of the household, inherited the title of Yerima). A talaka who was considered worthy, and was a member of a household whose head held a title might inherit that title; a common talaka without appropriate household affiliations could never hope to receive a title in former times.

The title was the mark of nobility in Kanuri society, and the embodiment of the several dimensions which, when taken together determined social importance. The title was linked to the system of feudal chimas who paid allegiance to the Shehu and effectively governed the land. The chimas had power, subject only to review by the Shehu himself, over the people in

175 their lands; they had wealth because of their rights to tax the
• 554 populace, as well as their access to large tracts of farm land
565 worked by the populace for the benefit of their chima, and to
[642] labor in the form of tax payment to the chima. The chimas had
[556] prestige which rested in the noble title which they bore. But,
[651] interestingly enough, it was not necessary to be free-born in
175 order to be a chima, or in order to receive a title. A slave
554 of the Shehu could himself occupy a position of enormous power
565 as a titled chima, could be extremely wealthy, and would be re-
567 spected as well as feared by the talaka, the free-born populace.

554 Lastly, it should be borne in mind that these attributes which
565 determine social position are shared by an entire household,
592 and not solely by one individual. It is true that only one
man is granted a title, but he is the head of a large house-
hold. The more important the man, and the greater his title,
the larger will be his household, including: number of wives,
slaves, concubines, children given to him, and tata njima. These
all share to an extent in the increased power and wealth of the
titled household head. As his own position rises, his slaves
and tata njima increasingly receive greater power and responsi-
bility. They become his kabuna, collect taxes for him, adminis-
ter the lands and eventually hope to be appointed Lowans, by
which time they themselves will have large and important house-
holds.

2. Slaves.

565 Royalty, by virtue of their close kinship with the Shehu,
• 354 fall into a distinct category in Kanuri society. For some, the kinship terminology takes the form of a title (Maina = prince), others are granted royal titles by the Shehu (Gumsu). Nobility represent a second category, composed of those titled freemen who trace no relationship to the Shehu. Here the titles are all conferred by the Shehu to a member of a household, who becomes the head of that household upon receiving the title.

567 Since the Kanuri recognize a category of slaves, they should be
565 distinguished as a separate segment of the population. However, they do not form the bottom-most stratum of Kanuri society, as might be supposed. On the contrary, just as freemen are stratified into nobility and commoners, so too can slaves be considered as a vertical segment of Kanuri society, falling into numerous stratified layers within the category called "slave."

567 The principles governing slavery in Kanuri society must
now be considered so that the above view of the position of the slave can be properly understood. A Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, so that slaves can be taken only from pagan
175 peoples. In former times slaves were captured by raiding parties
567 who drove into pagan territory, sacked and burned villages, and
721 brought back captives who became slaves of Kanuri masters, either of the Shehu himself, or of officers of the army. Slaves were most frequently taken by the Kanuri from among the Marghi, to the south; from the tribes of the Gwoza hills; from the neigh-

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175 borhood of the Shari river, south and east of Bornu; and the
567 lands east of the Shari. Of course, only pagan areas were
[72] raided.

Pagan peoples, on being captured in slave raids, remained with their Kanuri masters. As noted above, captured slaves belonged to either the Shehu (or the Mai in olden times), or to officers of the army, who invariably were titled nobles, and kabuna of the Shehu. However, Kabuna of the Shehu might be freemen or might themselves be slaves of the Shehu. In either case they could own slaves, so that it was possible for a slave to have slaves himself. In fact, a slave of the Shehu might own a slave, who in turn had a slave. In a legal sense, the owner of the first slave owned all the others, so that the Shehu owned all slaves of his slaves.

Although a Moslem may not enslave another Moslem, it is proper for a Moslem to own another Moslem as slave. Pagan slaves taken by Kanuri masters learned Kanuri culture, and their children grew up speaking only the Kanuri language and considered themselves Kanuri. They also became Moslems, but continued to remain slaves. This is in order, since one may not capture another Moslem, but one is not obliged to free a slave who converts to Islam. The slave of course has no jili since his ancestors were originally pagan (kardi).

567 The hierarchy with respect to slaves is determined by sev-
• 534 eral factors. The first is whether the individual, and his descendants, are slaves of the Shehu or the slaves of a noble

175 (in this case a titled free-born man and a titled slave of the
567 Shehu's are identical). Let us first consider the case of a
554 slave of the Shehu. Slaves of the Shehu fall into two general
categories: kabuna and sugurumma. The kabuna are the knights
and commanders of army units. The general of the army, and a
slave kabuna, held the title of Kaigama, one of the highest
Kanuri titles. The Kaigama was one of the four greatest chimas,
ruling one of the largest fiefs. He had very many slaves of
his own. Under the Kaigama were the Kazellas, high military
officers who also were slaves. These were the slave Kabuna,
175 titled and themselves chimas. The sugurumma were an entirely
567 different category. They were personal slaves, in charge of
644 the household of the Shehu. It was a common practice in raiding
839 for slaves, to capture large numbers of young boys as slaves of
[304] the Shehu. These were then castrated; penis and testicles were
removed entirely. Of a group of fifty or so, aged five or six,
who were subjected to castration, it was said that perhaps five
or six might survive the operation. These eunuchs (adim, an
Arabic term) served as personal servants of the Shehu and lived
in his household. The sugurumma is literally the keeper of the
key, an indication of his position of trust within the Shehu's
household. Several titles are reserved for adims. These are:
175 Yuroma - the most important of the adims, and one of the
567 four greatest chimas. On his death his title
644 goes to the adim presently holding the title of:
839 Mastrema - the second most important title held by an adim,
554 and another of the four greatest chimas. He is
succeeded by the holder of the title:

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Shetima Abu Karim - whose title is below the other two, but who is personally closest to the Shehu. He is succeeded by the

Mala Agodi. All other adim are called abagana.

Today, of course, the adim titles are vacant, the last important adim being Mastrema Musa who died in 1921. He is remembered as a fat man, with a high voice and an evil disposition. He was for a time the Ajia of Borsari district, but was dismissed. One adim, Abagana Modu Manga, still survived and lived in Maiduguri in 1956. Not all of the sugurumma were eunuchs. The title Digma is that of a slave sugurumma who was not a eunuch, and that title survives today, held by the present Ajia of Magumeri district.

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Slaves of the Shehu fall therefore into two vertical categories, kabuna and sugurumma, and crowning each of these categories were titled slaves who were among the most powerful individuals in the land, and account for three of the four most important chimas. However, the bulk of the Shehu's slaves never rose to positions of great power; they served in a variety of lesser capacities, performing tasks of various degrees of importance in the administrative system and within the household of the Shehu.

Slaves of a noble, either a titled slave or a titled free-man, also fall into differing categories, which serve to determine their position. One class of slave is the susana, or house slave. He has been born in the household of his master, usually of a line of slaves who have always been slaves of one

175 family. The susana has distinctive facial scars. The gawi
567 is a slave without a master. He may affiliate himself with a
554 new master if he so chooses. Lastly, there is the slave who
[304] was bought as a chattel in the market-place, a common practice
175 in the days when Kukawa was the capital. The susana is part
567 of his master's household, whereas the others are not. The
554 susana of an important noble shares some of that importance
592 by being part of the noble's household, and susana of titled
nobles who were chimas served as kabuna of those nobles, and
were themselves powerful individuals. The case cited above
of the title Talba, granted to a slave in the household of the
previous title-holder when there were no sons, indicates the
position of a trusted susana in the household, and also demon-
strates the nature of household unity.

567 Upon the death of a man who owns slaves, his son inherits
928 his slaves. Slaves are inherited just like other forms of
[643] property. The one exception to this is that the Shehu may
567 take any slaves or chirs of one of his kabuna, either slave or
free, after that man's death. The rule governing children of
slaves is that if the mother is a slave, the child is himself
a slave of his mother's master. Status of the father does
not enter in determining whether a child is slave or free, so
that the offspring of a slave father and a free mother are
themselves free. A slave says "kemanyi" (my lord) to his mas-
567 ter, though nowadays people say that "kemanyi" is said only to
576 Allah. Under the Mals of old, all talaka said "kemanyi" to the
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567 Mai; under the reign of the Shehus only slaves say "kemanyi"
576 to their masters and to the Shehu, and certain of the Shehu's
178 free-born kabuna address him in that way today.

576 A slave may be given from one master to another, and a
slave may be freed at the will of his master. A man will call
in witnesses to be present and note that he is giving such and
[673] such a slave his freedom. This may also be done in a will
after a man's death, though he may not free all of his slaves
in this fashion as this would be interpreted as seeking to dis-
inherit one's descendants, which is forbidden by law. A man
may also give a chir her freedom, and marry her as a regular
wife if he so wishes.

576 The buying and selling of slaves has been prohibited in
178 this century, but the institution of slavery persists. Slaves,
[304] or rather susana, are still distinguished by their distinctive
[291] scars, and by their bare heads--a characteristic which is im-
mediately noticeable since all free-born adult Kanuri males wear
• [554] hats. The persistence of slavery, however, is clearly a function
[309] of the need to attach one's self to the household of an import-
ant man, particularly in urban situations. This has always been
a characteristic of Kanuri society, and it continues to be so
today. The slave is no longer forced to remain in the position
of slave, but the potential relationship is frequently actuated
by slave and by master, and as long as each meets the expecta-
tions of the other in satisfactory fashion, the relationship is
perpetuated. Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

Furthermore the status of the slave was never that

of a degraded individual, since titled slaves were themselves part of the nobility. In fact, a slave who is part of an important man's household may refer to "talaka" in a derogatory manner, indicating his own superior position to that of the impoverished peasant farmer.

3. Talaka.

The talaka in the towns and villages formed the bulk of the population in the days of the empire just as they do today. In former times they were the talaka of a particular chima; today they are the talaka of a particular District Head.

But the class of talaka is far from homogeneous. The primary distinction to be made is between rural and urban talaka. Rural talaka do tend to be a rather homogeneous group. Urban talaka may fall into a variety of types, which differ in their relative wealth and prestige. In the days of the empire there were wealthy talaka who lived in the cities. Trade had always been important in Bornu, and a class of important traders formed a segment of the urban talaka population. Similarly, the various specialists and artisans who lived in the towns and cities formed distinct groups within the talaka population, just as other types of specialists were and still are viewed as low-status groups.

Since they are all talaka, none wield political power, and so one might say that there were no differences between the various types of talaka with respect to power. However, there

However, there

565 were great wealth differences between different talaka groups.

556 Traders, artisans, and farmers exhibited enormous wealth dif-

554 ferences between them and, as would be expected, these wealth

differences were reflected in the difference in size of house-

hold between different types of talaka. In the cities, wealthy

traders and well-to-do artisans occupied large compounds along

with the many members of their household; while non-specialized

laborers, low-status artisans, hand-to-mouth tradesmen, and

ordinary farmers lived with their nuclear families in small

compounds and at a much lower standard of living.

55 With respect to relative prestige there were also great

792 differences between various types of talaka. The most prestige-

ful activities are associated with Islam. Piety and study of

the Koran earn a man prestige. Devoting one's life to the study

of the Koran, by becoming a Malam, earns one great prestige,

though the Malam is dependent on charity and consequently can

never be a wealthy man. At the top of the religious hierarchy

there are individuals who may be powerful (since the Shehu is

advised by his Malams) and wealthy, but these are exceptional

individuals. Malams as a group enjoy great prestige, but little

power or wealth.

h. Changes in the Stratification System.

648 At the time of the present study (1956-1957), Bornu was

642 under British colonial rule, so that although the structure

178 of the empire, with the Shehu at its apex, was still in exist-

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[554] Slaves of the Shehu still hold the great slave titles of Kaigama and Kazella, and although slaves are no longer bought and sold, susana still consider themselves slaves and members of the household of present-day nobility. Nobles still continue to have chirs, and slaves ask permission of their masters before marrying.

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[666] It is among the great mass of talaka that the greatest changes have been occurring. New avenues to increased social importance have made their appearance in the last two decades. There are ways to attain political power today that previously were unavailable to talaka. Election to public office at the local, regional, or national level is becoming increasingly possible for talaka, and there are a number of individuals who have become powerful and important in recent years, despite their talaka background. Education has made possible the rapid rise of individuals of talaka background. They have risen in power and in prestige because of their education, and the specialized occupations which education has enabled them to practice. In many cases they have also been able to use their position as educated professional people to make successful careers in Provincial and regional politics, thereby acquiring political power. Finally, trade with the Western world has opened up new avenues to accumulation of capital on the part of the trading class of talaka, many of whom today are extremely wealthy individuals; and though this does not imply that an entirely new class of people has arisen in Kanuri society, it does mean that segments of one class of Kanuri society find themselves more

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The central mosque of Geidam also faces on the dandal, along its northern edge. Geidam has several smaller mosques, and although it is not necessary for a Moslem to go to the mosque to pray, Friday prayers at 2 PM (Duar) have become communal prayers. At that time almost the entire adult male community of Geidam gathers to pray. The mosque itself will hold only a small portion of the community, no more than 300 or so. All others gather under the shade of trees which line the northern and southern edges of the dandal, and while the Liman leads prayers in the mosque itself, all go through the ritual positions of prayer in unison following his lead. On the Friday Sabbath, the mosque and the dandal become the focus of attention.

368

Along the dandal, to the right and left of the entrance-way to the Ajari, are a number of buildings housing branches of the administration of the town. On the northern edge is the police charge-office, the court, and the community reading room. The courthouse serves daily as a center of activity. On the southern edge are the police barracks, the prison, the dispensary and the primary school. Along with these compounds housing various types of officialdom are to be found the compounds of several important men whose gateways also face out onto the dandal.

• [59]

The dandal, leading up to the chinna of the political head of a town, is the traditional political center of that town. Just as the market-place serves as the focus of all local commerce, the dandal serves as the focus of political, ceremonial and religious activity.

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him, are given land from that belonging to the Ajia, should they desire to farm for themselves. Such a plot may be in a more or less desirable location depending on the man's importance and his rank. Many of the Ajia's kabuna have their own plots which they farm. In addition, the Ajia has his own personal farm close to Geldam, which is worked exclusively by his kabuna. All kabuna, important and minor ones alike, under the supervision of the Ajia's Assistant (Wakil) farm the Ajia's land for him.

Table II

Percentage of people in Geldam who farm

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Farmed last year</u>
Aristocracy	3	2	1 did; 1 not for 15 yrs.
Koranic Malams	2	1	no
Canteen traders	6	0	
N. A. Malams	3	1	farmed last year--only in Geldam 1 1/2 mons.
Kabuna	1	5	3 did; 2 didn't
Craftsmen	3	0	
Talaka	3	4	1 did; 3 didn't
Low-status	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1 did; 1 didn't</u>
Total:	23	15	7 did; 8 didn't farm last year

Not all the people of Geldam farm. As may be seen from Table II, 23 of 38 individuals questioned had a farm of their own (61 per cent); 15 did not have a farm (39 per cent). Although all who live permanently in Geldam and pay taxes there

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241 are entitled to farm land, not all actually farm. Slightly
563 more than half of the talaka, craftsmen, and low-status people
• 554 in the sample farm; these all farm their own plots assisted by
463 their wives, the typical pattern of farming for lower class
[463] people. The canteen traders, a group of prosperous individuals with large households, all have a farm, though none farm themselves. Their farms are worked for them by their tata njima, or by hired laborers. Only one of the kabuna in the sample farms for himself, though of course they all farm for the Ajia on his farm. Finally, it can be seen that the pattern of farming is not absolutely regular each year. Seven of the fifteen individuals who had not made a farm that year had farmed the
241 previous year. Most of the people of Geidam do farm, but none
493 depend entirely on farming for their living and since farming is a secondary activity for all, they may omit farming on a given year, and may rent their land to someone else. Still others have entirely given up farming.

2. Craftsmen.

463 The economy of an urban community depends primarily on its specialists. These may be considered as falling within three broad categories. The first category is made up of artisans, that is, skilled workers who produce a product which the ordinary man cannot easily make for himself, or who perform a service requiring special skills which are beyond the abilities of every citizen. These will be referred to here as craftsmen. The sec-

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∞ seller.

441 Table V lists the major types of tradesmen in Geldam, ac-
438 cording to the type of goods in which they specialize. Re-
439 tailers and wholesalers have been grouped together, and as can
443 be seen from the table, though most are involved in selling in
442 the market-place, five of the types of tradesmen are not engaged
in selling in the market at all. The brokers who sell cows,
horses, sheep, and goats are all dilelma. Minor brokers who
deal in cattle, or in sheep and goats, work in the market-place.

• [554] Wealthier and more important dilelma dealing in the same goods
are fatoma, and do not do business in the market at all. Rath-

441 er, their trade centers around their houses. All the fatoma
in Geldam dealing in cattle, and almost all fatoma are involved
in the cattle trade, are clustered around the house of Lowan
Kolo Kolo, who was a fatoma in cattle himself before he became

[556] a Lowan. There are about ten such fatoma, all wealthy men, in
Geldam. A smaller number of dilelma dealing in sheep and goats,
three in all, own houses close to one another in another sec-
of town; another group of four or five dilelma in horses are
clustered in their own neighborhood. Good horses are rarely
sold in the open market, so that dilelma in horses arrange their
sales on an individual basis, away from the market-place. The
hide sellers are the only other group of tradesmen who are lo-
calized within a single neighborhood.

According to Table V, the various tradesmen tend to be
organized under a head man, whose functions are identical to

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Western world. As is obvious from the above, it centers in a series of relationships which a group of important and wealthy Kanuri traders have established with the European trading companies of the town. It involves a network of tradesmen, who fall into distinct classes in terms of their wealth and importance. At the one end are the canteen operators, wholesalers who have large sums of credit extended to them and are the heads of large households. At the other end are the small retailers, with little wealth of their own and still less credit, who travel from market to market with their goods for sale.

6. Internal trade.

Internal, or regional trade, represents still another type of trade, distinct from either local or from external trade. The trade in kola nuts is an example of this type of trade. Kola nuts are grown only in the south of Nigeria, and do not grow at all in the Northern Region; however, all Kanuri, men and women, adults and children alike, chew them. They are imported in bulk by Hausa and Kanuri middlemen, and transported to Geidam by truck. Because of the transport problem during rainy season, the price of kola nuts fluctuates widely according to the season, much more widely than any other item sold in the market. Middlemen who buy several hundred-weight bags of kola nuts at a time are called goroma; they sell only in bulk. to other middlemen who come directly to their homes to buy large quantities, which they in turn transport by donkey to the more remote villages which the trucks can not visit directly.

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175 Mustapha, another holder of a great title, was promoted from
634 Magumeri District to Geidam District to replace Kaigama Zubairu.

175 Yerima Mustapha is of the family of Shuwa kabuna who came
634 into Bornu with Shehu Laminu. The Shuwa and Kanembu nobles who
554 entered Bornu at that time did not bear Kanuri titles. How-
[147] ever, as they were the heads of Shuwa and Kanembu lineages (jili),
their own names took on the semblance of titles. Two such titles
which were perpetuated within Yerima Mustapha's family were
"Laminu" and "Malam Tərab". Laminu Jitia, a sister's son of
Malam Tərab, succeeded as head of the house of Malam Tərab,
who had been the chima over Magumeri at the time of Shehu Umar
(son of Shehu Laminu). The position of head of that house,
with the accompanying title of "Malam Tərab" passed out of the
hands of lineal descendants in succeeding generations when the
Shehu appointed non-family men to the position. A son of
Laminu Jitia, Aba Sanda Kura, was made Ajia of Magumeri, the
original fief of Malam Tərab. He then took the title "Laminu",
so that a new Kanuri title was created. Still later, the po-
sition of Ajia of Magumeri passed out of the hands of the "Lam-
inu" family. The present Yerima Mustapha, a great-grandson of
Laminu Jitia, held the title of "Laminu" from 1926 until 1938.

159 Yerima Mustapha was born in 1901. He received a primary
634 school education and became a Sanitation Inspector and Vac-
554 cinator in 1924. In 1932 he was made Ajia of Fune District,
where he resided first at Ngolzerma and later at Danagum. At
that time he used the title "Laminu." The present Shehu of

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159 Bornu, Shehu Umar, succeeded to the throne in 1937. A year
634 later he conferred the title of "Yerima" on Yerima Mustapha.
954 The title "Yerima" is one of the highest Kanuri titles. It
had been held by a Kanuri family, but at the time that Yerima
Mustapha succeeded to it, the last title-holder had left no
sons. Several members of the Shehu's own family sought the title,
but it was given to Yerima Mustapha because he had been close to
the Shehu, though his own family had no claim to the title of
"Yerima." In 1943 Yerima Mustapha was made the Ajia in Mag-
umeri where his family had lived for generations. He replaced
the dismissed Aba Jatau, son of Shehu Garbai, as Ajia in Mag-
umeri. For eleven years Yerima Mustapha remained in Magumeri;
in 1954 he was moved to Geidam District, the largest in the
province, after Kaigama Zubairu was demoted.

175 The personal history of the Lowans of Geidam is intimately
632 bound to the history of the several Ajias who have governed in
634 the district. In the course of the eleven years that Yerima
served as Ajia of Magumeri a number of his most trusted kabuna
were appointed as Lowans in the district. When Yerima left
Magumeri, among the heritage left for the Ajia who replaced him,
Digma, were the many Lowans who had sworn allegiance to the
departed Ajia. They included Lowan Maina, Lowan of Magumeri
town, formerly Yerima's Wakil. In identical fashion, Kaigama
Zubairu left Lowans in Geidam who had been his kabuna pre-
viously. The two Kanuri Lowans of Geidam at the time that Ye-
rima came there were Lowan Ashek and Lowan Kagu. Lowan Kagu

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• 554 The personnel who occupy positions in the judiciary, however, are bound to the social system. The Alkalis of Geidam exhibit a pattern in their personal histories, and are representative of specific social strata--the Koranic malams, the Imams and the Alkalis--whose sons follow their fathers and pursue the same goals. 693
159 Alkali Baba Kura was the son of Imam Komi, the chief Imam at Maiduguri who later became Chief Alkali. He studied the Koran, explanations of the Koran, Hadith (traditions), and Tarikh (chronicles) at his father's house and at the houses of other learned Malams in Maiduguri, and then went to study law at the Kano Law School. He was appointed Alkali for the districts of Magumeri and Gubio when he was only twenty-five years old, at the time when Yerima Mustapha was Ajia of Magumeri, and Yerima became his mentor. Alkali Baba Kura remained in Magumeri for four years. After Yerima moved to Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura was transferred to Geidam. One year later he was elected to serve in the Northern legislature at Kaduna, while continuing on as Alkali of Geidam. Then in August, 1957 he was again promoted, this time to be Inspector of Courts in Maiduguri. He and two other powerful and important Alkalis make up the Shehu's court. This is an extremely important position for so young a man, and Alkali Baba Kura owes much of his success to help which he received from Yerima, although his own family connections were still more important in helping rapidly 693
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662
554 to further his career. Alkali Baba Kura's older brother is today Imam Ibrahim, having succeeded his father as chief Imam in

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683 Maiduguri. He also holds the post of Alkali for Maiduguri
554 District. Replacing Alkali Baba Kura in Geidam was another
young man, Alkali Tijani Nanami, whose father had also been
the Alkali in Geidam years earlier, in 1939-1940. Thus the
same families tend to retain their positions of power and
[66] prestige in the social system. If the past can serve as a re-
liable guide, Yerima will again further the career of the new
Alkali, so long as he sees that his help is appreciated and
rewarded by proper reciprocal behavior, and in this way the
close bond which he has always seemed to create and maintain
with Alkalis in his district will serve to smooth the way in
the administration of his district.

3. The Role of Authority Figures: Sholo.

627 A very widespread Kanuri method of obtaining in-group
692 justice is through the arbitration of disputes by a person in
a position of authority. This practice is called sholo. Dis-
putants within a particular craft or occupation will go to the
head of their craft group for arbitration. The head of the
zogors arbitrates disputes between zogors. The Lowan arbitrates
disputes within his ward or his village. The wakil has dis-
putants brought to him; he then presents them before the Ajia
[618] for sholo. The Alkali will settle disputes out of court. The
British officially forbade Lowans and Ajias from hearing cases
[719] and arbitrating in disputes. However, Alkali Baba Kura says
that according to the Koran, the settlement of disputes through

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627 is still widely practiced. If a man's decisions are just and people trust him, they will come to him for sholo. If he is not trusted, if he is feared or disliked, people will not bring 627 cases for him to hear. In one situation mentioned, the Lowan 663 of a town hears many cases and receives large amounts in wushira, 661 because he is wise and knows how to deal with people and resolve disputes. The Ajia of that district, who lives in the same town, does very little sholo because he is not tactful, loses his temper, and shouts a good deal. Should people suspect that a Lowan or an Ajia is taking bribes, they will cease to bring their disputes before him. The essence of sholo is that it represents a voluntary action on the part of disputants who wish to have a conflict resolved. The mediator is a person in authority, who is obligated to rule justly by virtue of his position. Should he misuse his position by taking bribes, he would violate the expectations of those beneath him, and they, by ceasing to bring cases to him for sholo, would prevent him from performing one of the most important roles of someone in his position. Giving of kafelo, therefore, is a recognition • 630 634 of the status of the man hearing the case, and is quite different from a bribe.

627 Yerima hears fifteen or twenty cases each week in which 431 he gives sholo. If mediation is impossible, he will send the 671 case to court. To have a case brought before Yerima, the complainant gives several shillings to his wakil. Yerima is never given money directly, but money collected by the wakil is turned

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651 cal labor involved. Digma, on the other hand, has moved into
634 the district which Yerima left, so that the contrast between
663 the two is particularly marked. Taxes have constantly been
156 declining in his district, and he is continually suspected of
embezzling tax money--otherwise how else can one explain the
meager sums brought in from such a prosperous district? The
threat of investigation and dismissal hovers over Digma, a
[208] nervous and suspicious man to begin with. He is not liked in
his district, is not a generous man, and has few kabuna under
him. Consequently he is driven to go out and to collect the
taxes himself, but the job is far more than one man could ever
accomplish and he has only increased worries to show for his
efforts. Every failure of Digma's recalls the memory of Yerima,
who was respected and liked, who was generous, and who per-
634 formed so well as Ajia. Yerima's success in this as in so
663 many things derives from his keen insight into the traditional
554 social structure and his ability to adapt and use traditional
156 means to achieve his ends. The manner in which he maintains a
large corps of kabuna, many of them slaves, and uses their
services to his advantage while at the same time fulfilling all
the obligations of a great aristocrat, are an illustration of
this. Digma on the other hand is unable to act the part of a
traditional aristocrat, and constantly lives in fear of those
above him.

651 One way of handling the problem of inducing Fulani Ardos
634 to come into a district while at the same time taxing their
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651 and Yerima has actually carried out the threat often enough
634 for all to know that he means business. It is much wiser and
563 easier to compromise, and to receive gifts for having compro-
66 mised, than to curry the Ajia's disfavor. In this way Yerima
maintains harmonious relations with the Fulani in his district,
and indeed with the Kanuri villagers as well, and satisfies
the demands of the central authorities at the same time. The
system is dependent on the work of Yerima's kabuna, who in turn
are supported by Yerima. Ultimately funds to support Yerima's
sixty odd kabuna come from tax funds, though this never appears
in the accounting of taxes. Absolute loyalty to Yerima is de-
[64] manded of all his kabuna. A kabuna found helping himself from
Jangoli, or using his position to extract money from villagers
for himself, is severely dealt with.

5. The Roles of N.A. Personnel.

178 The roles of a number of political figures have been dis-
63 cussed in some detail above. In particular, the roles of Ajia
and kabuna, of Lowan, and of Alkali have been examined and in
every case it can be seen that traditional Kanuri roles have
[63] persisted into the present. The smooth functioning of the po-
litical system of Geldam has been attributed to the ability
of individuals carrying out those roles, particularly of Yerima
Mustapha, in perpetuating traditional relationships and adapt-
ing those relationships to the changing present.

634 However, in looking at the list of office-holders in Gel-
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• 554

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634 dam once again, it is evident that one group is a modern group
178 which has no counterpart in traditional Kanuri society. This
177 is a group of NA appointees including the Primary School Head-
• 554 master and the three school teachers, the Agricultural expert,
the Veterinary, the Hides and Skins Inspector, the Forestry
expert, the Local Government Advisor, the Adult Education Organ-
[191] izer, the Dispenser, and the Sanitation Inspector. All of these
[871] individuals have been educated in Western schools, most through
[463] secondary school, and all speak some English. They have all
received specialized training for their jobs. In addition,
all are young men or young adult men. Because they have all
been educated, they are addressed as "Malam," an extension of
the term for a Koranic scholar to new areas of scholarship.
(They will be referred to henceforth as "NA Malams".)

634 Despite the fact that the use of the term Malam indicates
177 a general recognition of their scholarly attainments, the NA
554 Malams are a part of the political system, under the jurisdic-
565 tion of the Ajia. Most of the NA Malams in Geidam are sons of
871 Lowans or Ajias, or have some direct connection with the house-
hold of a Lowan or Ajia. This is because the aristocracy and
those in political power have been more likely to send their
[829] sons to school than the talaka. Talaka are loath to send
their children to the Western school as they are needed at
home to assist in farming, and because parents see nothing to
[555] be gained by sending one's child to the school. Lowans, how-
ever, are themselves pressured to set a good example, and they

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634 see that, in order to succeed politically in future years, a
871 school education is an advantage since the youngster learns to
555 speak English, and learns enough of the ways of the Englishman
177 to better himself. Thus the group of NA Malams that has emerged
546 derives from the aristocracy or from minor political official-
• 554 dom. Their goals are commensurate with their social background;
all hope some day to be appointed Lowan or Ajia, or to achieve
political power by gaining a post in Maiduguri. As a group,
therefore, they belong within the political structure, though
their roles are not specifically political. Their aspirations
are the traditional Kanuri aspirations toward political power
and social prestige. However, the means to obtain power which
[178] is represented by the NA Malams is newly emergent in Kanuri so-
ciety.

E. Religion at the Communal Level.

128 Religious practice among the Kanuri does not differ from
76 community to community. Therefore, in discussing the manifesta-
[124] tions of religion in the community of Geidam, it will not be
necessary to describe Islamic observances, such as the ritual
128 prayer. The present discussion will be limited to two areas:
79 religious specialists and their place in the social system of
[151] Geidam; and religious festivals as they are celebrated at the
community level.

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1. Religious specialists.

792 The prototype of the religious specialist is the Malam.
872 As noted earlier, anyone who has studied the Koran is referred
875 to as a Malam. There are only thirty or forty Malams in Gei-
[143] dam, however, who devote themselves solely to Koranic studies
[162] and to the traditional role of teachers of the young. These
full-time Koranic Malams have pupils living with them in their
compounds, many sent into Geidam from the small surrounding
[876] villages where there are no Malams. Others, children of Gei-
dam residents, are sent each day to the Malam, where they are
taught prayers and where they repeat in group chants sections
[292] of the Koran read to them by the Malam. Young pupils of a Malam
[735] are distinguished by their garb: they wear goatskins over one
shoulder and carry a begging bowl. Every evening, after the
evening meal, they appear on the streets begging for their Malam
in the name of Allah.

792 The title of Gonyi is given to very learned Malams, who
• [554] have learned the entire Koran by heart. There are very few
793 Gonyis in Geidam. In addition to the Malams and Gonyis, there
are three religious specialists who occupy distinct statuses
which are given recognition by the traditional political author-
[693] ities. These are: the Alkali, and the two Imams. The role of
Alkali is concerned with law and political organization as well
as with religious practice, and has already been discussed in
[192] connection with political organization. The role of Imam (the
word Liman is used in Kanuri; from the Arabic al-imam) is solely
a religious role, but it receives political recognition.

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783 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Ngumeribe (ngumeri means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumeribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important

784 [782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when

793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con-

634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that

292 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was

534 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumeribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent
785 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken
183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the
561 age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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796 bowls of food were sent out to the large group of men gathered
 514 in the outermost courtyard, and eighty additional bowls, each
 431 sufficient to feed four or five people, were distributed to families in the town. In all, 108 bowls of bari, each costing about 2 shillings, were given away by the Ajia. Mass distribution of food in this manner is done three times each year, at Ngumeri Ashenbe, at Ngumeri Layabe, and at Mamaludu Kuguibe. In a small town which has no Ajia, the Lowan distributes food to all the families of the town. In Geidam only the Ajia distributes food in this manner, although the Alkali also gives away a great deal on a smaller scale. In Maiduguri the Shehu and the Waziri both distribute great quantities of food, while the Ajia of Maiduguri does not.

796 That evening about thirty-five people were invited to a
 514 second feast at the house of Alkali Baba Kura. The meal itself
 [222] was essentially the same as that at the Ajia's, except that

Krola (a Nigerian imitation of Coca-Cola) was served instead of Orange squash and clear mints were passed around with the kola

796 nuts. Though the feast itself was traditional in every respect,
 514 the manner of invitation was not. A list, headed by the writer
 554 (referred to locally as Malam Ibrahim), was sent to all who

were invited to attend. The group was made up largely of the NA Malams, the two Kanuri Lowans and the two most important ka-

[26] buna, one Kanuri and two Hausa traders, and a few others. Not present were Yerima Mustapha, who is too important a man to eat at another's house, any of the Limans or important Koranic Malams, the Hausa Lowan or the deposed Lowan Kagu, any craft heads,

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• 554 and most of the important traders. Eating from one bowl at the head group were, in addition to the Alkali, the Chief Scribe, the Treasurer, Malam Jalo, Sidi Mohammad, and the writer.

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554 Celebration of the festival marking the end of Ramadan, Ngumori Ashembe, has been described in some detail above. In the description can be seen the integration of a religious festival with the social structure of the town of Geidam. Keeping of the fast is observed by the entire community and serves to bind its members through a ritual of suffering. The communal bond is further strengthened by public prayer marking the end of the fast. The roles of various office-holders can be seen in connection with these observances. The Liman leads the public prayers; the Alkali attests to the sighting of the new moon; and the Ajia more than any other person uses the festival celebrations to demonstrate and to validate his high status and his great power. The day of Ngumori Ashembe is marked by horse displays in which the kabuna of the Ajia vow their allegiance to him, before large crowds of admiring townspeople. On the following day all the important men of the town are invited to a great feast at the Ajari, and vast quantities of food are distributed by the Ajia who demonstrates the generosity expected of a great Kanuri aristocrat and receives the deferential courtesies owed to a great man. The feast which the Alkali makes is minor in comparison and is limited solely to the town aristocracy and the NA Malams.

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782 Another extremely important yearly festival is called

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582 from Table VI that in the Geldam sample the median age of marriage is 20.25 (mean age is 21.35), but that the range is very great, extending from one individual who married at the age of twelve to one who was not married until the age of thirty-five.

582 Of the eight categories presented in Table VI, only one seems
463 to differ considerably from the norm in age of marriage, that
565 one being the Canteen Traders. Four of the six in that category married later than the median age, two as late as age twenty-eight. This is interesting because the standard explanation for late marriage is that the individual must work to save money for a bride-price. However, Talaka seem to marry rather early while wealthy traders marry late. This would lead one to suspect that there is also a proportion of individuals who delay marriage until they consider themselves capable of supporting (or needing) a wife, and that this delay results in late marriage for a number of young men who might well have afforded the basic bride-price years earlier.

595 Table VII presents data on the number of wives had by each of forty-four men. Exactly half of the men in the sample have one wife; sixteen men have two wives; one has three and two have four wives; three have no wives--one of these is twenty-five years old and has not yet married--and the other two divorced wives not long ago. Only two men have concubines: Yerima Mustapha has five, and one wife; while Malam Ali Mandara, the Chief Scribe, has one concubine given to him by Kaigama. Comparing the mean number of wives for the various groups, it is clear

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 199]

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Table VI
Age at First Marriage

	12-13	14-15	16-17	18-19	20-21	22-23	24-25	26-27	28-29	30-31	...	35									
Aristocracy			1	1	1	2															
Koranic Malams			1			1	1														
Canteen Traders			1	1			1	1	2												
NA Malams			2	1	1	1			1												
Kabuna	1	1	1			1	1					1									
Craftsmen	1	2			1					1	1										
Talaka			3	1	1	1	1	1													
Low-status	1				1			1													
Totals:	1	-	-	2	2	6	5	1	6	-	2	4	3	5	-	-	3	-	1	1	1

median age = 20.25

mean age = 21.35

[GEIDAN]

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Table VII
Present Number of Wives

	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>concubines</u>	<u>Mean No. of wives</u>
Aristocracy	-	3	2	-	-	1	1.4
Koranic Malams	-	1	2	-	-	-	1.7
Canteen Traders	-	-	3	1	2	-	2.8
NA Malams	-	3	3	-	-	1	1.5
Kabuna	1	1	4	-	-	-	1.5
Craftsmen	-	4	2	-	-	-	1.3
Talaka	1	7	-	-	-	-	.88
Low-status	1	3	-	-	-	-	.75
Total no.	3	22	16	1	2	2	

that the canteen traders have significantly more wives as a group, while the talaka and the low status individuals have significantly fewer wives. Among the canteen traders are found the only two individuals who have four wives; among the talaka and the low status individuals none have more than one wife and two do not have any.

582 The many differences between marrying a kalɔ yaskɔ (virgin)
 587 and a zogor (divorced woman) have been discussed at some length.

565 Table VIII presents data on the percentage of zogor and kalɔ
 463 yaskɔ among the present wives of individuals in the sample. Un-
 554

der a (Present Wives) it can be seen that the first four categories have married predominantly kalɔ yaskɔs while the bottom
 [129] four have overwhelmingly married zogors. The cultural ideal is for a young man to marry a kalɔ yaskɔ at his first marriage.

Most individuals in each of the eight categories have in fact

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 201]

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2:Rosman E-5 (1956-1957) 1966 MS14 Kanuri MS14

Table VIII
Whether Marriage was with a Kalo Yaska or a Zogor

	a.		b.		c.	
	Present wives kalo yaska	zogor	First wife kalo yaska	zogor	All previous wives kalo yaska	zogor
Aristocracy	6	1	5	---	16	10
Koranic Malams	5	-	3	-	10	-
Canteen Traders	12	5	4	2	19	19
NA Malams	7	2	3	3	15	16
Kabuna	1	7	4	2	7	31
Craftsmen	1	7	4	2	5	38
Talaka	-	7	5	3	6	64
Low-status	-	3	1	2	2	22
Totals:	32	32	29	14	80	200

[GEIDAN]

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582 done this (see b - First wife), so that twice as many first
 587 marriages (29) were with kalɔ yaskɔs than with sogors (14).

565 On the other hand, in the many subsequent marriages into which
 • 554 the members of this sample entered (see c - All previous wives),
 463 many more were with sogors (200) than with kalɔ yaskɔs (80).

It is evident that talaka and low status individuals tend over-
 whelmingly to marry sogors after their initial first marriage
 since of subsequent marriages only two were with kalɔ yaskɔs,
 while eighty-one were with sogors. On the other hand, the four
 upper categories tend to marry kalɔ yaskɔs more frequently than
 [792] sogors. This is particularly striking for the category of Ko-
 ranic Malams, all of whose ten marriages have been with kalɔ
 [163] yaskɔs. This is significant because, as will be noted below,
 the Koranic Malams are blessed with many children while other
 people have relatively few.

593 Table IX presents data on the seclusion of wives. The
 562

Table IX

565 Whether wife is secluded (kule)
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	<u>kule</u>	<u>partly kule</u>	<u>not kule</u>
Aristocracy	4	1	-
Koranic malams	2	1	-
Canteen Traders	6	-	-
NA Malams	6	-	-
Kabuna	1	1	3
Craftsmen	-	-	6
Talaka	1	-	6
Low-status	-	-	3
Totals:	20	3	18

[GEIDAM]

593 four upper categories all seclude their wives, save for two
 562 individuals whose wives are permitted to leave the compound
 565 but who rarely go out (partly kule). In the four lower cate-
 564 gories only a few individuals attempt to keep their wives se-
 463 cluded. The great majority permit their wives to leave the
 compound and go about the town; indeed, ordinary people would
 be unable to maintain themselves without the economic assist-
 ance of their wives.

2. Divorce.

586 From the data presented in Table X it is possible to ob-
 tain an estimate of the divorce rate in Geidam. Table Xa gives
 the total number of wives, including their present wives, to
 whom the members of the sample have been married. They range
 from four individuals who have had but one wife, to one man
 who has had twenty. Six of the forty-four individuals have
 had from thirteen to twenty wives. The median for the group
 is 5.5 wives (mean is 6.4). The groups do not seem to differ
 radically from one another.

Table Xb comprises the total number of wives (Xa) minus
 the number of wives to which each individual is presently mar-
 ried (Table VII), and thus indicates the number of divorces for
 each individual. They range from six individuals who have
 never been divorced to one man who has been divorced nineteen
 times. The median number of divorces for the group is 3.75
 (mean is 4.98). The Koranic Malams have clearly had fewer di-

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Table X

X =

Total Number of Wives per Person

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Aristocracy		1		1				1	2												
Koranic Malams			1		2																
Canteen Traders					1	1	2		1	1											
NA Malams			3	1					1							1					
Kabuna					2	1		1		1	1										
Craftsmen		1				2		1	1									1			
Telaka		2			1			1	1					1			1			1	
Low-status	1			1					1					1							
Totals:	1	4	4	3	6	4	3	4	6	2	1	-	-	2	-	1	1	1	-	-	1

median = 5.3
mean = 6.4

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2: Rosman

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X b
Number of Divorces per Person

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Aristocracy	1		1		1		1	1													
Koranic Malams			1	2																	
Canteen Traders			1	2		1	2														
NA Malams	2	1	1			1								1							
Kabuna			2	1			1		1	1											
Craftsmen	1				2	1		1									1				
Talaka	1	1		1			1	1					1			1				1	
Low-status	1		1					1				1									
Totals:	6	4	9	2	4	2	5	4	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	2	-	-	-	1	-

median = 3.75
mean = 4.86

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vorces than have other groups. In turn, the talaka have had more numerous divorces. There is a distinct tendency for the lower categories in the table, who marry overwhelmingly with rogors, as noted above, to marry and divorce more frequently than the upper categories (canteen traders and NA Malams), and in fact the Koranic Malams who marry only kate yaskes have the lowest divorce rate.

3. Family and Household.

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The number of living children of each of the individuals in the sample is presented in Table XI. In all, 44 adult Ka-

Table XIa
Number of Living Children

	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>
163 565 554 463 Aristocracy	1	2	2						
Koranic Malams			1			1			1
Canteen Traders	1	1		2	2				
NA Malams	1	3	1	1					
Kabuna	4	1		1					
Craftsmen	4	1	1						
Talaka	7				1				
Low-status	1	2							
Totals:	19	10	5	4	3	1	-	-	1

[GEIDAM]

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Table XIb

Cases of Children Given Away

Aristocracy	2: to FaYoBr after weaning to FaE1S1 after weaning	597 565
Koranic Malams	1: to MoMo after weaning	554 •
Canteen Traders	1: to cousin after weaning	463
NA Malams	1: to FaE1Br (chibuna) after weaning	
Kabuna	-	
Craftsmen	1: to neighbor (chibuna) after weaning	
Talaka	1: to FaMo at age 4	
Low-status	1: to chibuna at age 11	

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median number of children = .75

mean number of children = 1.33

nuri men in this sample have 57 living children. One hundred
 and eight children had been born to the group, but 51 of these
 have died. Because of the exceptionally high infant mortality
 rate, children are greatly desired and prized. In addition to
 malaria, which is the greatest killer of infants, an extremely
 high rate of venereal disease is present in Bornu, and a high
 percentage of those infected are sterile and unable to bear chil-
 dren. One factor in spreading venereal disease is the high di-
 vorce rate. Frequent divorce and remarriage spreads the disease
 throughout the population, and results in many sterile individ-
 uals who desperately want children. In their desire for chil-
 dren, they divorce and remarry, thus spreading the disease
 still further. In particular, if they marry a zogor they are

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[GEIDAN]

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000 have an adequate home at the time.

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Figure 4 presents a diagram of the compound of Yerima Mustapha, whose enormous household is not included in Table XII. Yerima's compound is the size of a city block (79 yards by 160 yards), and is surrounded by mud walls which are ten feet tall. The shaded sections to the rear make up the women's area, and within can be seen the ~~zagos~~ of his wife (Haja Fati), and those of his chirs. (One chir left Yerima's household, so that six house areas appear in the diagram though Yerima has only five chirs.) The sole entrance into the women's area is through Yerima's personal quarters. The house areas of three additional nuclear families can be seen in the diagram. These are slave families, who raise their children within Yerima's household. Several store houses are present, as well as a large inner courtyard in which six or seven of Yerima's horses are kept. Other houses provide living quarters for the numerous slaves, tata njima, and retainers (wallidi) who comprise the bulk of the household. Alongside the entrance (chinna) and facing the dandal is a row of official offices which are in fact an integral part of the Ajari.

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The principles of household affiliation have been described in the previous chapter. In Table XII the actual composition of forty-three households is presented. In each row are found the various individuals who comprise a single household. Thus the four first rows represent the category of the aristocracy in the sample. (As noted the household

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 213)

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Table X11a
Household Composition

	wives	chil- dren	tata nilma	rela- tives	wife's rela- tives	sogors	chi- buna	others	yal total	house- hold total
<u>Aristocracy</u>	2	1	1	-	WiYoSi	ElBrDa	1	-	4	8
(minus	1	1	2	FaCou	-	-	-	-	3	6
Yerima)	1	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	4	7
	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	3 friend's children	3	7
<u>Koranic</u>	1	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	6
<u>Malams</u>	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	7
	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	student	2	7
<u>Canteen</u>	2	2	-	Mo	-	-	-	-	0	5
<u>Traders</u>	2	0	-	YoBr + Wi	-	-	-	-	6	9
	3	1	2	YoBr+Wi+Da	-	-	2	-	4	9
	4	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	9
	2	0	5	-	-	-	-	friend+Wi	7	10
	4	3	2	-	-	-	2	malam+Wi: 5 students	11	19
<u>NA Malams</u>	(1 chr)	1	7	YoBr;YoSi	-	1	-	-	10	14
	2	2	-	YoBr	-	-	-	Fa's chibuna + Wi	3	8
	1	1	-	2 YoBr	WiYoSi	-	-	-	3	6
	2	2	2	ElBrSo	(ElWiYoBr (ElWiYoSi	1	-	-	6	11
	2	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	5
	1	-	1	FaBrSo	-	cousin	-	-	3	5

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Table XIIIa (continued)

	wives	chil- dren	tata n'lma	rela- tives	wife's rela- tives	sogers	chi- buna	others	yal total	house- hold total
<u>Kabuna</u>	2	0	1	-	-	YoWiYoSi	-	YoWi's chibuna	3	6
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	0	0	-	-	-	YoSi	-	-	1	2
	2	3	1	ElBrSo	-	-	-	-	2	8
	2	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	2	Mo	-	-	-	-	2	5
<u>Craftsmen</u>	1	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	2	0	-	MoBrSo	-	-	-	-	1	4
	2	0	3	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
<u>Talaka</u>	1	0	-	-	-	-	ElBrSo	-	1	3
	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	3
	0	0	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	2
	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	2
	1	0	-	-	Wi's gr.so	-	-	-	1	3
<u>Low-status</u>	0	0	-	(lives in ElBr's house)	-	-	-	-	-	4
	1	0	-	WiElBrDa	-	-	-	-	1	3
	1	0	-	2 YoSi cousin	-	-	-	-	3	5
	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	3

[BEIDAN]

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Table XIIb
Summary of Household Composition Table (X21a)

Totals for 43 households:

- 38 Tata njima
- 21 relatives of household head: 3 Mo; 6 YoBr (2 with wives, 1 YoBrDa); 3 YoSi;
2 ElBrSo; 4 cousins
- 6 relatives of wife of household head: 3 WiYoSi; 1 WiYoBr; 1 WiElBrDa; 1
Wi's grandson.
- 7 zogors: 4 relatives; 3 not family.
- 6 chibuna
- 16 others: comprising - Wi's chibuna; Fa's chibuna + Wife; malam + Wi and 5
students; friend + Wi; 3 friend's children; student of Koranic malam.

[GEIDAN]

Mean Number of Tata Njima and mean number of Non-nuclear family in Household

	<u>Tata Njima</u>	<u>Yal Members</u>	<u>Mean size of Total Household</u>
Aristocracy (- Yerima)	1.8	3.5	7.0
Koranic Malams	0	.67	6.67
Canteen Traders	1.5	4.67	10.2
NA Malams	1.8	4.3	8.2
Kabuna	.67	1.3	4.5
Craftsmen	1.0	1.2	3.5
Talaka	.13	.5	2.75
Low-status	0	1.0	3.75

[BEIDAM]

572 of Yerima Mustapha is not included.)

565 Household composition has been broken down into the fol-
 • 554 lowing categories: wives and children (which have already
 463 been discussed), tata njima, relatives of the household head, relatives of the wives of the household head, zogors, chibuna named after the household head, and miscellaneous others. The term yal refers to members of the household who are not part of the nuclear families of the household head. The final column gives the total size for each of the forty-three households in the table. It may be seen that household size ranges from two to nineteen members.

Table XIIb presents a summary of the information in Table XIIa. There are 38 tata njima attached to the present 43 households, but in looking at the mean number of tata njima in the various categories, it is apparent that they are found largely in four categories: those of the aristocracy, the canteen traders, the NA Malams and the craftsmen. Tata njima included in Table XIIa are only those actually living in the compound of the household head. The canteen traders in particular have a number of tata njima who are married and live in their own compounds but return to their "master's" house to eat their meals. These have not been included here. Relatives of the household head are primarily younger siblings (6 YoBr; 3 YoSi) and some even have their wives and children with them. There are three cases of mothers living with married sons, but no fathers. In no case of the present 44

[GEIDAM]

592 chibuna tend to be given to higher-status household heads.

597 The chibuna relationship is also found in the last miscellaneous category which includes a wife's chibuna in one household, and a chibuna of the household head's father plus that 592 man's wife in another household. Friends and friends' children, and finally a Malam, his wife and five students taken into the household as an act of charity, are also found in the miscellaneous category.

592 Most of the households in the sample contain individuals
565 who are not members of the nuclear family of the household
• 554 head. These make up his yal. The mean size of yal (Table
463 XI1b) varies widely from group to group. For five groups it is small (Koranic Malams, kabuna, craftsmen, talaka, low-status individuals), with approximately one additional person in each household. For three groups (aristocracy, canteen traders, NA Malams) the yal is fairly large with the highest mean (4.67 members of the yal) occurring among the canteen traders. Finally, the range in total size of household for each of the eight groups can be seen in the lower right-hand column of

[162] Table XI1b. The mean size of household for the group of canteen traders is 10.2, while the mean size of household for the group of talaka is 2.75. This range represents the difference between the nuclear family of Geidam talaka, who have but one wife and very few children, and the household of a wealthy trader, with several wives, children and a large yal.

[GEIDAM]**G. Social Stratification in Geidam.**

56 Social stratification in Geidam may be viewed in terms
 178 of the interaction of three sets of variables. These are:
 177 the traditional Kanuri system of social stratification; the
 319 social structure of an urban community; and the influences
 on Kanuri culture brought about by contact with the Industrial
 West.

1. The traditional stratification system in Geidam.

565 Aristocracy in Geidam is represented by a handful of
 individuals. However, though they are few they occupy the
 • [554] positions of greatest power in the community. The term aris-
 tocrat properly refers only to Yerima Mustapha, the Ajia, for
 only he holds a noble title granted him by the Shehu. How-
 ever, Alkali Baba Kura, the son of a chief Imam and himself
 a powerful figure in the judiciary, and Sidi Momo? Yerima's
 nephew and an NA messenger in Geidam, must also be considered
 to belong to the aristocracy, particularly in view of their
 close ties through kinship with members of the aristocracy.
 Kinship links to the aristocracy, however, are an ambiguous
 criterion, since kinship is not always the determining factor
 in succession. Moreover, a number of other individuals in
 Geidam, particularly among the NA Malams, are also able to
 trace ties of kinship to the aristocracy.

567 Slaves are a distinctive social element in the community
 only if their masters, too, are present as members of the com-

[GEIDAM]

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565 Geidam whose activities fall primarily in the economic sphere of Kanuri culture. The activities of other specialists are concerned largely with the political sphere of Kanuri culture. Still others specialize in the religious sphere of their culture. Though the distinctions are never absolute, and in a sense all individuals are involved in every aspect of their culture, it is clear that, for example, one group is more concerned with the economic aspects of their culture than with the religious aspects, as they carry out the behavior which characterizes that group. Though all traders pray (along with everyone else), their activities as traders are primarily concerned with economics and not with religion; though all Malams handle currency (along with everyone else), their activities as Malams are primarily concerned with religion. For any given individual, group membership is operationally defined by the amount of time which he devotes to a given type of activity. Thus the craftsman spends most of his time at his craft, the trader spends his time trading, and the Koranic Malam studies and teaches the Koran.

3. ~~The~~ Influence of Contact with the Industrial West.

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177 The third variable which must be considered in looking at social stratification in Geidam is the influence of contact with the Industrial West. In discussing this factor it is necessary to look once again at the dimensions which determine social position in Kanuri culture: power, wealth,

[GEIDAM]

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177 prestige, and the distinction between slave and free-born.

• [554]
177 The direct influence of the British colonial administra-
567 tion has removed the legal support behind the master-slave
565 relationship, so that slaves can no longer be bought and sold,
648 and slaves who have run away cannot be forcibly returned to
their masters by the police. This has radically altered the
relation between master and slave, so that the distinction
between slave and free-born is significant only in special
cases.

64 By and large, the colonial administration, because of
177 its policy of indirect rule, has allowed political power to
178 remain in the hands of the same segments of the society as
565 previously held power. However, some changes have been made
by the British, so that representatives are elected to a North-
634 ern House of Assembly and to a Federal Legislature. In Geidam,
177 political power is largely in the hands of the Ajia, who typ-
178 ifies the aristocracy. Yerima Mustapha as Ajia of Geidam is
565 a perfect example of the aristocrat who has skillfully adapt-
ed to the changes demanded of a present-day Ajia, and at the
same time has succeeded in perpetuating the old social order.
Other positions of power such as those of the Lowans, are held
by men faithful to him, chosen from his kabuna, another tra-
ditional group which has continued on into the present in Gei-
[648] dam. The position of Alkali in Geidam is held by still another
member of the aristocracy; and what is more, the Alkali of
Geidam, Alkali Baba Kura, was elected representative to the

[GEIDAM]

177 Western education are few in number, they form a significant
871 category in the community. In their most advanced form they
[632] are represented by the class of NA Malams, who are best cate-
gorized as a group which functions primarily as part of the
177 political structure. Since traditional formal education was
871 entirely in the hands of the Koranic Malams, this area of in-
554 fluence affects them most directly. Learning in Kanuri cul-
ture has always been associated with prestige, and the most
learned people were also among the most respected. This is
true for Koranic Malams, and is also true, to an extent, for
those who receive a Western education since they, too, are
[578] referred to as "Malam." As a result of this, a conflict has
arisen concerning the two forms of education, and the rela-
177 tive merits of each. However, since Western-educated indi-
871 viduals who continue their education and receive specialized
[632] training tend to accept NA positions--so that the best edu-
cated individuals in Geldam are all NA Malams--the primary
activities of Western-educated Kanuri are associated with the
political system. Therefore they are not in conflict with
those, such as the scholars of the Koran, who are concerned
primarily with religion. Rather, they threaten individuals
who, through traditional associations, are involved in the
political system but have received little or no Western edu-
cation.

177 It is evident from the above discussion that contact with
178 the Western world has created new paths to wealth, power, and
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[GEIDAM]

177 prestige in addition to those previously available in Kanuri
178 culture, and that these new paths are sometimes in conflict
• 554 with the traditional paths. These conflicts in turn have
565 brought about shifts in the relative positions of certain
groups in the community structure, particularly among the
talaka. The position of these groups in relation to one an-
other in the community of Geidam represents the social struc-
56 ture of Geidam. The social structure of Geidam, then, is a
178 result of the interaction of the three variables discussed
369 here: the traditional system of social stratification, the
177 urban nature of the community, and the influences upon it of
the Industrial West.

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gory, including many sorts of individuals, but limited here to those who are not full-time specialists, yet perform some non-skilled activity in addition to farming. Eight members of this category were chosen for study.

- [554]⁸. Low-status Individuals - a social category made up of specialists who traditionally have a low status in Kanuri culture. These are full-time specialists, who usually learn their specialty from their fathers. Four members of this category were chosen for study.

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The forty-four individuals in the eight groups and categories who make up the sample for the present study are found listed in Table XIII. Though it would have been desirable to have chosen the individuals making up the sample through some randomizing method, which would have eliminated the possibility of the selection of informants who are good examples of the author's thesis, this was not possible because of the conditions of field work. As will be explained in the following section, data on acculturation was obtained from each of these forty-four informants through a long questionnaire which took two hours to administer and which included a number of questions dealing

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with sensitive topics. It was necessary to establish close relations with each of the forty-four individuals included in the present study before he could be used as an informant. This eliminated the possibility of choosing informants in a random way. It may be added, however, that the author was well aware of this problem at the time that the study was done. He consciously tried to handle the problem of bias by selecting as informants individuals who were good examples of the group or

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 242]

Table XIII (continued)

113 551 • 554 124 463	8. <u>Low-status individuals:</u> (4)	Bukar Mondolma- a tanner. Yahuda Gundama- a praise-singer and drummer. Mastapha Mondolma- a tanner. Abdu Gursam- a butcher.
--	--	--

Total: 44 individuals.

[GEIDAM]

#177 a rising group, increasingly becoming more wealthy, more powerful, and more prestigious, they tend to rely less on traditional Kanuri authority figures for resolution of conflict, 627
691 and rely instead on externally derived authority. This is because they are unsure of their own position in relation to that of the Lowan or Ajia, and equally unsure as to how he sees their relationship. This uncertainty makes them unwilling to place themselves in a vulnerable position with respect to Lowan or Ajia by bringing their complaints to him. 829
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178

735 The Kanuri place a very high value on charity and generosity. 577
577 ity. One who possesses worldly goods in abundance should share 431
431 what he has with others who have little. The individual who occupies a high position in Kanuri society has access to wealth and to power (through which he can also achieve wealth). He is expected to distribute large amounts in charity in order to validate his high position. Every individual in the sample, when asked if he would give away a gown to someone who asked for one, replied that he would give (see Table XXIX). Not a single individual stated that he would refuse to give if asked. Furthermore, 36 individuals (82 per cent) answered with an unqualified "yes." Eight others said that they would give the gown but placed a variety of conditions on giving. The various qualifications placed on giving are presented in the right-hand column of Table XXIX. They range from statements that the other man must be brought by poverty, that you give to someone who is close to you but not to a stranger, to extreme statements

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 295)

- 355 -

[SEIDAM]

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tremes of response. They are acculturated in the area of religious behavior. In the area of medicine, they stay close to the baseline for the entire group, though they do show a preference for Western treatment of smallpox. They are consistently conservative with respect to education, and are generally conservative in their attitudes towards marriage. The Talaka are a stable group that is neither very acculturated nor very conservative.

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8. Low-status Individuals. The group of low-status individuals is small and is therefore less reliable than other groups. On the whole they appear to be a generally unacculturated group. The extremity of their responses give them the appearance of an unstable group, though this might have been brought about by their few numbers. Within individual behavioral areas they appear fairly consistent. They appear acculturated in certain items of Western material goods: smoking cigarettes (item 16), wearing shoes (Item 18). With respect to the treatment of diseases they show a preference for European treatment of 5 of the 6 diseases, though here they seem most inconsistent since they are distinctly unacculturated in their hesitancy to visit a European doctor (Item 22). They also appear quite acculturated in their willingness to allow their wives to work.

Much of their inconsistency and consequently their apparent instability can be explained in terms of their low status in Kanuri society. It is surely this which accounts for their readiness to allow their wives to go out and work as a school-

(TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 356)

[DEIDAN]

- 355 -

Table XLVII

ACCLIMATIZATION PROFILE OF THE GROUP OF LOW-STATUS INDIVIDUALS

	unacculturated responses	acculturated responses
* 177 • 554		
1. knowledge of Hausa		
2. knowledge of English		
3. other languages		
4. write in English script		
5. write in Arabic script		
6. has watch		
7. has bicycle		
8. has radio		
9. has photographs		
10. has horse		
11. rides bicycle		
12. can tell time		
13. usefulness of watch		
14. bicycle more useful		
15. rather own bicycle		
16. smoke cigarettes		
17. drink beer		
18. wear Eur. shoes		
19. wear Eur. trousers		
20. fast at Feast of the Whale		
21. wear thurns		
22. visit Eur. doctor		
23. prefer Eur. medicine		
24. Eur.- bone setting		
25. Eur.- jaundice		
26. Eur.- snake bite		
27. Eur.- head ache		
28. Eur.- small pox		
29. Eur.- internal pain		
30. would go to court		
31. place conditions on charity		
32. send son to school		
33. send son to school		
34. prefer school to Islam		
35. prefer Western occupations		
36. Western aspirations for son		
37. marry a non-Kanuri		
38. marry a Hausa		
39. marry a Fulani		
40. marry a Balwa		
41. marry a Yoruba		
42. marry an educated woman		
43. permit wife to work		

[GEIDAM]

* 177 teacher. They smoke cigarettes and are willing to wear Euro-
• 554 pean shoes and trousers because they do not threaten their status within Kanuri society by doing so. They are not in a position to be directly influenced by contact with Western industrial society, and are thus little acculturated, but in certain areas of material culture about which they have some familiarity they are willing to behave in an acculturated fashion. One might even argue that they feel that Western medicine is generally the more effective, though they actually know very little in this area, but their contact with Western culture is so slight that they cannot imagine themselves visiting a European doctor for treatment.

[GEIDAM]

- 359 -

*177 they are such a stable group then? The role of the NA Malam
624 is clearly defined. His Western education is generally ac-
156 knowledged as a useful thing and he is accorded prestige by
554 being called "Malam". The goals of the NA Malams are tradi-
tional Kanuri goals. This is brought home most strikingly in
their choice of occupations (Table XXXIII) where four of the
six NA Malams chose "Lowan." Their education, their knowledge
of the English language, their general high degree of accul-
turation have not hindered them from attaining positions of
political power, a very traditional goal, in Kanuri society.
On the contrary, these things have become assets. The accul-
tured individual is at an advantage over the unacculturated
individual in rapidly rising within the political system. This
state of things will remain at its present level only so long
as: (a) the number of NA Malams does not rapidly increase so
that many individuals are competing for a limited number of
political positions, which would mean that a group of dis-
gruntled and disappointed individuals would be created, and,
(b) their degree of acculturation does not reach the point
where their goals, too, will change. At present, in the com-
munity of Geidam, neither of the latter conditions have arisen.
It can also be seen from their acculturation profile that the
NA Malams adhere to important Kanuri values in other areas.
They do not smoke or drink beer; they fast and wear many charms;
they are not reluctant to give gifts of charity; and they would
tend to avoid marrying an educated woman or let her work. All

- 360 -

[GEIDAM]

*177 of these indicate that the NA Malams have not rejected important Kanuri values in the course of their acculturation. Though 634 they are a very acculturated group, they are in no danger of 156 drifting away from Kanuri culture and becoming deviants. Consequently they are a stable group, with clearly defined roles and mutually understood expectations and obligations. Other Kanuri can understand the NA Malam, and the NA Malam himself realizes the "self" that he wishes to convey without having to affirm his Kanuri identity through exaggerated behavior.

*177 The Craftsmen represent the opposite extreme of an uncultured and stable group. Their primary role requires 463 highly skilled and specialized behavior of them and their status 1354 is respected in the community. Although their activities are primarily within the economic area, the range of individuals with whom they interact is narrow and they have little or no direct contact with agents of Western society. Their knowledge of languages and of writing is slight. They have few Western goods, nor do they know much about these items. They are not very strict about fasting and drinking beer, but in other areas they adhere strongly to Kanuri values, such as taking disputes for arbitration and giving gifts of charity. They show a slight inclination to favor European doctors, and they favor Western occupations though their aspirations for their sons are strongly traditional. They are not very conservative about education generally. The overall picture of the Craftsmen is of a group that is obviously not very acculturated, but their responses,

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

592 However, ego's interests and sense
593 of social membership lie primarily with his agnatic group and are
571 less affected by friendship than social security.
[602]

An example may help to clarify things here. From the genealogical data of four brothers, the following recent family history emerged which, although atypical in its matrilinear emphasis, still illustrates quite graphically how the residence patterns operate through time.

[768] Upon the death of her husband about forty years ago, a woman of Magumeri returned from Nguru in north Borno in order to live in the compound of her full brother, the head butcher of the town. With her she brought her three sons all of whom had been fathered by [587] her recently dead husband. She later remarried, leaving the three boys with their Mo-Bro, and subsequently gave birth to another son by the new husband. The three sons of the woman's original marriage grew up in the house of their (childless) Mo-Bro and were taught the butcher's craft.

[463] When the Mo-Bro died leaving no wife, and no heirs, his
• [554] sister's oldest son became the head butcher of Magumeri. The second son decided to leave the butcher's craft (a low status occupation) and become a trader in hides and skins. The youngest of the three full brothers, who was crippled in one leg, elected to remain in butchering. The eldest son became head of the household. He married and prospered and now has two wives and three children (by the second wife). The second also married and set up a new compound for himself on the east side of and adjacent to his elder brother's compound. Later, the third brother married and after a short while moved directly to the north and adjacent to his elder brother's compound.

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case the factors are easily isolated and can be held up to view because of the manipulation of the power and authority ingredients of the relationship by the people involved and the prominent part they play in the continuity of the interaction. In the give and take of ordinary day to day life, however, the thresholds of decision-making vary tremendously from person to person. Some complain continually of their present set of relationships but never seem to change; others complain and are also highly motivated to obtain more profitable ties, while others who seem content suddenly inform their friends that they are leaving their present set of arrangements because they can link up more profitably elsewhere. To explain this variability would require a psychological analysis of each individual's motivation, plus a thorough knowledge of the total scale of his social relationships, since the more persons one knows and the farther they are spread out over the society as a whole, the easier it is to shift from one set of relationships to another. Persons who have remained in one locality all their lives naturally tend as they grow older to become more identified with the particularities of the area. Their scale of relationships is restricted spatially and thus the range of profitable possibilities for changing social relations is

• [554] narrowed. Again as a general rule, biologically ascribed relationships of a kinship or non-kinship (i.e. slavery) variety tend to be more durable than achieved ones, in Bornu as in all societies.

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In another residence grouping, a man was observed to have obtained a good deal of power and authority over quite a large group of adjacent semi-independent compound units. These included the man's own compound, containing his two wives, the next compound

567 There are no rules governing sexual intercourse with 130.
595 concubines as there

[833] are with wives. A man may sleep with his concubine any time he wishes
[941] or avoid her as much as he pleases, whereas it is mandatory that he

spend alternate nights with wives even if one is menstruating. Con-
flicts may arise between wives and concubines if the latter is overly

567 favoured sexually by the husband. A more serious cleavage arises in

595 the circumstances of the wife's being barren and a concubine having
593 given birth to a son and heir to her master. It is known by all that
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one day the son will succeed to a large portion of his father's wealth
plus his position as household head. In such a case the boy's slave
mother knows that eventually she is to become the respected senior

[109] woman of the compound in which she is now a menial. Although one case
was observed, it must be emphasized that such instances are rare in

• 554 the contemporary society. Only political leaders from the level of
567 town head up, and hereditary nobles were observed to keep concubines.

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178 An extremely wealthy trader, who felt very proud of his four wives in
seclusion, answered that it would be improper of him to have a concu-
bine because he was only a trader. Seventy-five years ago a man of
his position would have had a score of them.

567 Several upper class informants spoke of the traditional prac-
595 tice of giving young concubines to upper class boys at their circum-
881 cision, so that they might have a female of their own in order to learn
178 about sexual intercourse. Because of the waning of the slave population
numerically this practice seems to be dying out, (only one case of a
male who had been raised in this way of the younger, 20 to 30 years ago,
generation was recorded).

595 When a man marries a second, third, or fourth wife it is
customary for him to give a sum equal to approximately half the luwal-

593 activities. That is to say, culturally speaking, there is an ideology
[124] of male dominance in the husband-wife relationship. This prescription
for male superiority was enacted one day by a female entertainer who at-
tempted to teach the anthropologist's wife the proper manner for ap-
proaching the presence of a husband. She came in as if bearing food
and went down on her knees with her head bowed to one side and eyes
downcast, while demurely presenting the offering to her lord and master,
and then quietly removing herself. Although this was all performed in
a theatrical manner, the attitude of submissiveness was the lesson
833 being taught. Again, although sexual experimentation is highly thought
562 of by some males, it is generally frowned on for the male to assume a
position underneath the woman during coitus. This is rationalized by
the belief that the semen will run back into the male and "go bad",
causing disease, i.e. something bad will result from a male allowing
822 a woman to lie on top of him. This is reminiscent of the claim of one
554 very high ranking Kanuri nobleman who, when discussing apartment build-
ings in America, disdained this architectural concept as distasteful to
himself, unless only he and people of equal rank were allowed living
quarters on the top floor.

593 The observed facts of interpersonal relations in marriage
183 are enormously various, and a full circle of almost complete conformity
to complete denial of the cultural ideal can be seen in almost any
Bornu town where there is a representative sample of the various strata
of Kanuri society. The following are some of the major variables oper-
ating in the marriage relationship which affect the extent of denial or
conformity to the ideology of male dominance.

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183 of the above variables make such conformity to cultural patterns extremely difficult among the lower status ranks of the population, i.e., for most of the people.

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562 Closely associated with the above factors, but not directly determinative of male dominance, are the Kanuri patterns of marital fidelity and divorce. Marital chastity is considered an ideal behaviour norm for both men and women, although almost the entire weight of the prescription falls upon the married woman, which is a logical consequence

- [554] of the cultural ideal of male dominance. Male marital chastity is given only sham acceptance as an ethical standard by most men, except for the most highly moral, such as some religious leaders aspire to, or very respectable judges, or any other person who wishes to set himself up as a paragon of virtue and reap the benefits of status which such a reputation confers. (1)

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[595] Men may marry up to four wives in the Muslim world and because there are always sover (divorced women) in Bornu who are available sexually to men, there are a great deal of extra-marital sexual relations by men which for all intents and purposes are culturally sanctioned. In other words, social reality and every day ethical standards give to men much freedom of sexual behaviour at all times whether or not they are married. This holds true for a bachelor, as it does for a man with one, two, three or four wives. On the other hand, a woman is supposed to turn on and off her sexual freedom in and out of marriage. While married, cultural norms prescribe that she make herself

- [P29] (1) The Kanuri believe that strict adherence to all moral injunctions of their culture is so difficult and so rare that any person actually practicing such a life of complete moral integrity is very "powerful." His sanctity is so great as to render his person actually dangerous; so much so, it is related, that even the clothes of such a man have power to inflict good or evil on others.

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[554]

Young Kanuri civil servants who are in closer contact with Europeans than the peasant complain of the meagreness of European hospitality and the haughtiness of this group. Traditionally, Kanuri high status is associated with much hospitality and gift giving. The ultimate power of dismissal which the Europeans hold in their hands and the difficulty in understanding or living up to their different standards of performance, also tend to produce antagonism and resentment as well as the admission of high status to the European group.

[555]

This attitude toward Europeans was exemplified by one Kanuri civil servant who interjected his belief about the end of the world into a discussion of Kanuri past achievements in relation to their present status as a group in the world and Nigeria in particular. "When that day arrives (the end of the world)", he said, "all the machines of the Europeans, all their guns, their automobiles, aeroplanes, ships, radios, refrigerators, and their 'power' (arivi, see below pp.225 -228) would be gone and the Kanuri will once again be a great nation and take all the Iboe for their slaves." The other four Kanuri participants in the conversation knew about the end of the world, but had never heard of this particular interpretation, which, however, they tended to believe because of the speaker's scholarly status as a reader and writer of Arabic.

(1)

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Questionnaire data obtained from one hundred and forty-seven

Kanuri adolescents (thirteen to nineteen years old) in Maiduguri from the Senior Primary School and the Secondary School tend to support the qualitative material gathered separately. The boys were asked to rank

- (1) There were originally one hundred and sixty-eight children in the school population who responded to the questionnaire, but data from twenty-one have been deleted for present purposes because of the membership in other than Kanuri groups. There is a possibility that some of the students did not report their tribal backgrounds correctly, which may have added to the spread of deviation in the responses.

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who descended from the north on settled towns and caravans for plunder and slaves. Even today they are feared for their aggressive and warlike ways. The pagan groups who are most contacted, the Banana and the Gwosa peoples, many of whom live as a despised minority among the Kanuri, are rated the lowest among the non-Muslim groups. While those peoples who have many recent converts to Islam, like the Babur or the Yoruba, are rated much higher than the less contacted pagan peoples like the Mandara, Magari and Tiv, who are in their turn rated higher than the more closely contacted Gwosa and Banana.

Occupation

● 554

The occupational role which a person performs is a major determinant of status in the total society. Traditionally, as well as contemporaneously, any person holding a political position is accorded a high status in relation to all other occupations. The higher the political position in the governmental hierarchy, the higher the status accorded the person doing the job. Thus the status of a slave, for example, is strongly dependent upon his occupation. In Magumari a slave of the District Head, who gives the District Head free labour and has no political ties or power, has a very low status. On the other hand, the District Head considers himself the slave of the son of a former Shahu, because his father was a slave of the former Shahu. The District Head's status in the society as a whole is high because of his occupation as a District Head, notwithstanding his slave background.

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Koranic callens are accorded prestige because of their close connection to the supernatural which gives them specialised powers, and because of the leading role they take in rites de passage.

The variation in their status is due to their success (see below pp. 225-228, arziyi) and their birth.

793 228, arsiyi) and their birth. There are mallams who form part of the
 [565] highest ranking status group in the state as well as peasant and beg-
 gar mallams. Each political leader of any size has his own mallams
 [693] attached to his organization, as do many powerful men. Since Koranic
 knowledge is also legal knowledge the judiciary is a specialized,
 high status sub-group of mallams.

556 Beneath the political and religious occupations lie the
 [565] broad base of peasant or commoner roles, which are differentiated
 primarily on the basis of material success. Among these occupations
 [441] it was observed that the role of wealthy trader obtained the highest
 status. This is due to its being the most lucrative in comparison to
 all other non-political occupations. Traditionally, the occupation of
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 829 butcher, blacksmith, tanner, petty broker, and barber are accorded
 shame (nungu) status in relation to other positions, while drummer-
 entertainers are also considered low status people who have no proper
 sense of dignity.

Informants defined shame status of occupations by whether
 or not it would be shameful for a "decent" free person whose father
 was a mallam or a political leader to take up the job, aside from rea-
 sons of economic necessity (knanzako) which (allegedly) excuses the
 role occupant from shame. The reasons given for shame (nungu) occu-
 (1)
 pations are as follows:

[826] (a) butcher - he cuts animals, mallams who do this are bad mallams;
 he takes life for money; he smells of blood (the Kanuri
 equate blood closely with life, soul and personal power).

(b) blacksmith - they made arms for the enemies of the Prophet.

(c) tanner - they smell badly; their work smells unpleasantly; only
 a man with no proper shame could do such work.

(1) Composite statement from informants.

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- 554 (d) barber - they are ignorant; they know bad things (fear of witchcraft) and magical malevolence which is also attributed to hunters, medicine sellers, magicians and Koranic mal-
 829
 789 lams.

554 (e) petty brokers - they take property to sell in the market that is not their own, and then they give the money to the property owner, but they never give the true amount, they always keep their own share, they can never be trusted. Good people could never do such work. A broker is not vertically related to others, he is an individual agent - it is often difficult to find out exactly where he lives. His non-attachment makes him less likely to be a person whom people can trust. There is also much reasonable experience behind his cheating, which many know of to their loss.
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 [558] Kanuri notions of status are such that any person who takes up any of these occupations due to economic necessity is not supposed to be accorded as low a status as if he were born into the occupation.

This idea gives support to the value placed upon upward mobility in
 [775] Kanuri culture. One mallam told the writer that he had read in the Koran that people, who were of these low status occupations would never reach paradise, even if they were good and proper in their behaviour all their lives.

426 The lowest occupation status is that of money-lender, for
 554 it is widely known that this practice is contrary to the edicts of the
 577 Muslim religion. In real life this approbrium varies a great deal primarily because of the covert admiration given to money-lenders for their material success which allows them the cash surplus to loan for interest.

178 The colonial period has seen the growth of many new kinds
 463 of occupations that require western education. At first, outsiders,
 [167] often from the southern parts of Nigeria, were brought in to man the few essential jobs in the mechanical workshops, the hospitals, and the offices. Today, they are rapidly being replaced by northerners and in Bornu, itself, by Kanuri.

571 aspire to higher positions in the Bornu political organization. They will be considered in greater detail later.

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In order to assess more accurately current trends in occupational status among the young western educated group, the senior primary and secondary school population was asked to rank 55 occupations using the same "freedom of choice" instructions employed above for the questionnaire on the various ethnic groups. It was hoped that the methodology would elicit level of aspiration rather than level of achievement scores so that some objective measure of the status ratings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wasiri indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these

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ings of these occupations could be obtained. It is felt that the high position given to such status positions as Shehu and Wasiri indicate that the boys were responding in terms of the actual prestige given to the status rather than judging the position by whether or not it was open to them personally. Although significant differences have not been analysed, some observable differences in the scores of the younger boys as compared to the older boys are suggestive, and therefore these data have been presented separately. The young boys (age 13-15) had African teachers while the older boys have among their teachers Europeans as well as Africans. As in the previous case the test was administered in the Kanuri language.

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Despite the high correlation between the two groups, it is possible that there are differences in the evaluation of high status occupations among the younger as compared to the older boys. This is indicated by the fact that of the twenty most highly rated occupations the younger boys average (cardinal) rank for European jobs was 9.7, while the older boys average (cardinal) rank for the same variety of job was 11.7. On the other hand, the younger boys average (cardinal)

[Text continues on p. 203]

TABLE VI

Occupational Choices of Maiduguri School Boys

Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
1	District Officer	6.99	5.3	1	Shehu of Bornu	5.21	4.7
2	Engineer **	8.27	5.9	2	District Officer	6.03	5.0
3	Medical Officer	8.42	7.2	3	Waziri of Bornu	7.15	5.2
4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	8.57	5.0	4	Member of Northern House of Assembly	7.72	4.4
5	Shehu of Bornu	8.60	7.0	5	Government Service	9.21	5.4
6	Agricultural Officer	8.98	6.6	6	Koranic Mallam	9.26	9.4
7	Government Service	10.64	6.2	7	Agric. Officer	10.66	6.7
8	Waziri of Bornu	10.80	7.2	8	N.A.	12.06	6.2
9	N.A.	13.52	6.3	9	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	12.19	5.8
10	Bank manager	14.51	7.5	10	Medical officer	12.19	6.2
11	Company (European) manager	15.95	7.4	11	District Head	13.69	5.3
12	Chief Scribe (Maiduguri)	16.31	7.4	12	Alkalai (judge)	17.02	9.3
13	Radio Announcer	16.62	8.2	13	Kaigama (a D.H.to- day) traditional title	17.88	7.9
14	Company (European) clerk	17.15	6.0	14	Bank clerk	18.40	8.1
15	Alkalai (judge)	17.18	7.5	15	Engineer	18.51	9.2
16	Bank clerk	18.70	7.5	16	Company (European) clerk	19.71	6.2
17	Koranic mallam	19.31	9.2	17	Bank manager	20.10	9.3
18	District Head	20.07	8.6	18	Radio announcer	20.76	7.6
19	Journalist	20.20	7.3	19	Farmer	20.97	9.4
20	Mechanic	20.25	8.9	20	Company (European) manager	21.70	8.3
21	N.A. councillor	22.90	8.8	21	Journalist	21.76	7.4
22	Kaigama	24.54	9.5	22	Owner of retail store	22.65	5.9

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Sr Cohen

E-4, 5

(1956-1957)

1960

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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School: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (elder)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean	Average	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean	Average
		Choice	Deviation			Choice	Deviation
23	Truck driver	24.96	7.2	23	Trader (with credit from European company)	22.73	8.0
24	Truck owner	25.25	9.5	24	Village Head	23.94	7.3
25	Owner of retail store	26.53	9.0	25	Nurse (male)	24.45	10.4
26	Nurse (male)	26.86	8.5	26	Hotel (Bar) owner	25.57	6.7
27	Trader (with credit from European company)	27.08	8.9	27	Truck driver	25.93	7.3
28	Village Head	27.75	7.1	28	Mechanic	27.77	9.8
29	Carpenter	28.30	8.9	29	Trader	29.49	10.9
30	Building con- tractor	28.80	11.1	30	N.A. councillor	29.61	9.4
31	Hotel (Bar) owner	29.84	8.6	31	Truck owner	30.68	9.5
32	Farmer	30.21	10.5	32	Kachella Shehube (traditional title) no job today	31.88	10.1
33	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.51	6.8	33	Building con- tractor	31.90	9.6
34	Hunter	34.29	8.4	34	Carpenter	31.94	7.6
35	Small retailer at roadside table	35.29	6.9	35	Tailor (on sewing machine)	32.34	7.6
36	Hamlet head	35.82	7.1	36	Scale man (cash crop buyer in bush)	32.91	9.2
37	Kachella Shehube	35.82	10.4	37	Hamlet head	33.46	7.3
38	Blacksmith	35.92	7.7	38	Small retainer at roadside table	33.66	6.8
39	Trader	36.20	9.4	39	Mud house builder	34.82	9.4
40	Tailor (on sewing machine)	36.55	7.8	40	Charm seller	37.52	8.8
41	Shoemaker	36.85	8.4	41	Horsed servant	38.62	6.1
42	Horsed servant	38.16	7.5	42	Hunter	38.88	7.4
43	Mud house builder	38.70	7.6	43	Kola nut seller	38.90	6.3
44	Hat maker	40.33	7.0	44	Shoemaker	39.86	6.8
45	Kola nut seller	40.51	6.0	45	Hat maker	40.00	6.6

3: Cohen E-4-5 (1866-1867) 1860

MS14 Kanuri MS14

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Schools: Senior Primary (younger)				Secondary (older)			
Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation	Choice (cardinal)	Occupation	Mean Choice	Average Deviation
46	Weaver	41.54	9.4	46	Shehu's slave	41.03	9.1
47	Petty broker	41.98	7.2	47	Labourer	41.54	5.9
48	Calabash maker	42.74	7.0	48	Blacksmith	42.05	8.5
49	Barber	42.95	6.0	49	Barber	42.15	6.1
50	Charm seller	43.27	8.9	50	Weaver	42.44	6.9
51	Shehu's slave	43.81	8.0	51	Calabash maker	44.03	6.5
52	Labourer	44.02	6.4	52	Petty broker	45.15	6.5
53	Butcher	45.04	6.1	53	Drummer-entertainer	47.08	5.6
54	Drummer-entertainer	47.23	6.8	54	Butcher	47.33	5.5
55	Moneylender	48.74	6.2	55	Moneylender	47.96	7.0
N - 83; Mean Average Deviation 7.7				N - 67; Mean Average Deviation 7.4			

- Using Spearman's rank order correlation (R_{ho}) on the cardinal choices, the younger and older boys show a correlation of .90 in the ordering of the 55 occupations. (See Siegel, S. Nonparametric Statistics, (1956) pp.202-210).
- The week before the test was administered an engineer spoke to the younger boys on the possibilities of future careers in engineering.

3s Cohen

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(1956-1957)

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463 rank for traditional high status jobs among their first twenty choices
 • 554 was 12.0, while for the older boys the same score was 7.3. That is to
 184 say, there are grounds for investigating an hypothesis (which needs
 further testing for its validation) that the older schoolboys are less
 enamoured of high status European jobs than their junior school fellows,
 of whom many have just recently come into the city school from bush dis-
 tricts. (This "difference" may, of course, reflect the fact that the
 attempt to create an irreality situation is more difficult for older
 than for younger boys).

178 The occupations which the British have supported by salaried
 463 appointments, such as Shehu, Wasiri, Alkalai, District Head, Village Head,
 554 have kept their higher status. On the other hand, unsupported but tra-
 ditionally high status positions such as Shehu's slave, horsed servant
 of a chief, or Kachella Shehube (colonel in the pre-British Kanuri army)
 have not retained their high status positions, relatively speaking. The
 exception to this rule is the Koranic mallam who, although not give of-
 ficial support in the form of a salary, has kept his high status because
 178 of the continuity of his religious functions into the present day. The
 463 following table compares these types of occupations for both the younger
 554 and older boys, using averaged cardinal rankings.
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TABLE VII

Supported and Unsupported Traditionally High Status
 Occupations

	<u>Ranking</u>	
	Younger	Older
State supported traditionally high status	15.4	11.9
State unsupported traditionally high status	36.9	31.9

It should be noticed that here again there seems to be a ten-
 dency (not significant statistically) for the older boys to rank the tra-

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[184]ditional occupations as having higher status than the younger boys. In their choice of Koranic mallam the older boys put that status in 6th place, while the younger boys placed it in 17th from the top status. The main distinction, however, is clearly shown. Once the traditionally high status occupations have lost their support and major functions, they tend to atrophy in the eyes of the population and they are ranked lower.

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For the remaining comparisons, a scale is used which divides the table into high, middle and low status occupations. Those chosen from 1-19 are high; those from 20-38 are middle; and those from 39-55 are low status occupations. Figures given in the tables are average ranks in the category being considered taken from their cardinal positions.

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(1)
It has been recorded for West Africa by several writers that young African schoolboys are more interested in white collar jobs than in any other kind of occupation, including the technical. (In Leopoldville even the educational jobs are less preferred to clerical work). The Kanuri material indicates that technical and administrative jobs are both accorded high status and are in turn distinguished from all forms of manual labour. In the general category of manual labour, European jobs such as carpenter, truck driver and mechanic are accorded much higher status than traditional jobs such as tailor, shoemaker, calabash maker, or labourer. This is consistent with the qualitative statement made above that, within peasant occupations, material income is a large determinant of the differentiation among occupations. The exception to this generalization is "farmer" which the older boys place 17th, and the young-

- (1) See Jahoda, G., The Social Background of a West African Student Population, British Journal of Sociology (March, 1955); Mercier, P., The Evolution of Senegalese Elites, UNESCO Bulletin of Social Science Number 8 (1956); Comhaire, J., Some Aspects of Urbanization in the Belgian Congo, American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 62 (June 1956), pp.8-13.

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er boys, 32nd on the list. This is in accord with the general high value placed on farm ownership and farm production, not farm labour. It is good to have a farm, and this means then that you are a farmer, but it is even better if you can have a labourer or some of your followers work the land for you. Thus farming is not contradictory with high status, only farm labour. The following table summarizes these comparisons.

TABLE VIII

Prestige of White Collar and Manual
Labour Occupations

Kind of job		Ranking	
		Younger	Older Boys
White collar jobs	high	11.9	11.9
Manual labour (European type jobs)	middle	26.9	28.9
Manual labour (Kanuri type jobs)	low	34.1	43.3

The final comparison to be made from the table is that between self-employed as against non-self-employed European occupations. The following table indicates the ranking which these two differently organized sets of occupational roles are given by the schoolboy population. It should be remembered that it is this group among the total population who, more than any others, have open to them the possibility of western type jobs.

TABLE IX

Prestige of the Employment Relations
in European Jobs

Kind of employment relations		Ranking	
		Younger	Older Boys
Western jobs non-self-employed	high	11.1	14.4
" " self-employed	middle	27.4	27.2

The results indicate that self-employment as it is known by the Kanuri is less highly evaluated than its opposite. Certainly this is a result of the fact that all high status European (and Kanuri) occupa-

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tions are within larger organizations. However, this comparison suggests that to young western educated Kanuri there is very little choice to make between whether or not they would work as an independent entrepreneur, or within some larger organization.

Birth Ascription

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Although Kanuri society is, and always has been, a fluid one in which people could (within limits) move up and down the status hierarchy, rank is also judged in terms of an individual's birth into a particular bilateral family. Because of the greater importance of the agnatic group, its status in the society determines to a much larger degree than any other what birth status is accorded to the person.

[428]

Several factors, fixed and variable, add to or subtract from the birth status. A fixed factor is the individual's birth order. The eldest son (maji) has a higher status than his brothers for it is known that he is heir to his father's compound and thus to much of his social position. However, this can vary. If the father is very old and his children very young, then a brother of the father will be regarded as the logical heir to the compound as its authoritative head, thus lowering the effect of his young nephew's maji status.

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Despite birth order and the inheritance factors affecting it, one of the first questions asked about a stranger entering a community is, "who is his father?". The political leaders of Magumeri refused to allow the writer to hire a "wandering minstrel" as a water boy during the first few weeks of the field trip because, as they said, "no one knows who his father is." That is to say, his original place in the social organization, his legal unity with an agnatic group which would answer for him and make him a responsible person, was unknown. Thus he

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602 was considered inappropriate as a servant and household member to a powerful newcomer to the community,

Matri-kin do not give a man much ascribed birth status one way or another. However, the matri-kin often aid the individual and if they are a powerful high status group in the society, he may derive some benefits from this relationship. But these rewards must be realized before this ascribed status is worth anything to ego in the eyes of others.

The importance of birth status was made plain during the gathering of genealogical data. A well known "arriviste" in Magumeri, who served as the District Head's right hand man and principal link with the urban community, gave a completely trumped-up genealogy which included, patrilineally many antecedents who had been the horsed servants (ko'una) of well known nobles of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Bornu. Only later, when crosschecking some of the material, was it discovered that this informant was the son of a man who used to tend camels for their owners in the Maiduguri market and that he, himself, had started life as a gatherer and seller of bush grass for horse fodder. His faked genealogy reveals his sensitivity to his low status background and his desire to give a newcomer the impression of continuity regarding his origins. His own rank at the time of the interview was that of horsed servant to the District Head of Magumeri, so that the faked genealogy indicated his desire to create for himself a family background of similar status to his present one.

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156 Along with other explanations (see below pp.225 -228 , arsiya) birth ascription is also used to describe the reasons for success or failure at any given role, especially among the high ranks of society where improper behaviour can be attributed to the person's rise from a

554 lower level. A high born, successful chief explained the improper, dis-
 602 reputable behaviour of another chief by claiming that this sort of thing
 [56] was not surprising behaviour from the son of a slave. At the peasant
 level, birth status can count as well in raising or lowering an individ-
 ual in the eyes of his fellows. A man is given higher status because
 his father is rich or is a powerful Koranic mallam, while it may be whis-
 pered of another that his mother was a pagan, or his father was a black-
 smith, thus lowering his status in the eyes of others.

565 As in most complex stratified societies, birth in Bornu into
 602 any one level determines to a large measure what range up or down of
 554 status positions an individual is likely to achieve in his lifetime. (1)

There is a much higher chance that high status positions are occupied
 by the sons of high status persons rather than the sons of peasants.

[178] Western education and the plethora of jobs opening up is latterly crea-
 [648] ting a more widely mobile society, but it was British policy at the
 beginning of the colonial period to educate the sons of chiefs. The ad-
 vantages of this policy were soon perceived by the leaders of the society.

[271] Consequently, a large proportion of the young western educated group are
 [369] sons of the traditional political leaders. There is no conflict over
 this tendency from the rural population, who still do not value western
 education very highly, although rumblings of resentment are heard in

565 the large urban centre. At the peasant level many of the craft workers
 463 in Magumeri, the potters, dyers, blacksmiths, calabash makers and the
 602 other craftsmen, are from kin groups that have engaged in these indus-
 tries "duk" (right back through time), for as long as any of them can
 remember. However, except for the potters (females) and blacksmiths,

(1) cf. Lipsett, S.M. and Bendix, R., Social Mobility and Occupational Career, American Journal of Sociology Vol. LVII (March 1952)
 pp. 494-504.

565 all the crafts have members who have decided to enter these activities
 463 during their own lifetime from family backgrounds in which the dry sea-
 602 son activity has been quite different.

554 On the other side of the question, there has always been
 room in Bornu for the ambitious climber. Historically, the use of
 slaves, servants and apprentices, rather than potentially jealous, con-
 viving relatives in the social, political, and economic organization,
 [558] has left much room for the discounting of birth status. Moving from
 one status to another, if it is a better one, is considered a good
 thing while moving down the status grades is explained as knansike
 (literally: hunger pushes him), i.e. he was forced into it by circum-
 stances. Related to this is the Kanuri belief that status, to be pre-
 served, must be validated. It is not enough to be born the son of a
 District Head; the individual must prove by his behaviour, both be-
 fore and after he obtains the status, that he is a good chief, or a
 [558] good malla, or a good dyer or farmer. If this is not the case, then
 birth status can be a hollow thing which becomes a means of derision
 and criticism to be used against a man by his fellows.

In summary, the Kanuri society is not classified neatly by
 ascribed birth statuses. There are other dimensions of rank which mod-
 ify and change this biologically given status. Thus birth, although
 extremely important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of
 a man's status in the social organization at any particular point in
 time.

Wealth

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The Kanuri differentiate among individuals as to their wealth.
 This dimension of stratification runs from ngudi (a poor man) to galibu

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[171]

levelling processes between the two large segments of the society. It is because of this status aspect of class that Kanuri, like ourselves, have a ludicrous image of the arriviste - the person who has some of the attributes of upper class society, but who can never learn all of them, for he is not "to the manor born".

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This account of the social organization of Bornu has been heavily weighted towards the male society. This is due admittedly to the primary male associations of the anthropologist. However, it can also be put down to the strongly male-centred framework of the social structure.

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The dimensions of status discussed above, of tribe, occupation, wealth, birth, rural/urban residence and class, hold as well for women as for men. But for the most part (leaving aside highly independent women, who tend to create their own status) a woman's social position can be more fully understood by tracing her relationship to the various males in her patrilineage, and her married life. Briefly, a woman receives relatively high or low status from three sources, (1) her agnatic descent group and its status in the society, (2) the status of her husband, and (3) her personal wealth. The interrelation of these three factors changes through time for each woman as well as varying from woman to woman, but they are the basis of judgements by self and others which set a woman high or low in the society. It will be noticed that (1) and (2) both refer not to the woman's status, but to that of males to whom she is related either by marriage or descent.

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It is claimed that traditionally the women in Bornu were more highly organized than at present. There were titled heads to a total association of women, who were organized in similar manner to the

(1)
 173 guilds. The Ma'aran or Shehu's sister, and the Maira, the King's
 554 mother were the head women of the state. There was also a Do'oma or
 562 head of sower (unmarried divorced women) for the entire state, as well
 571 as the Gumsu, the senior wife of the Shehu. Each town had its own
 [644] local head of women and head of the unmarried divorced women under the
 [574] titled heads in the capital. When visitors or an army regiment arrived
 the total community of women could easily be organized under their
 leaders to prepare food and proper lodging for the strangers. The
 titled women in the capital were invested to their offices in male robes.

178 The title Do'oma (head of sower) is said to have fallen into
 554 disuse after the fall of the first dynasty at the beginning of the nine-
 562 teenth century, but was revived in 1925 by Shehu Sanda. It exists today
 [644] but has no reference to sower. Informants around the palace claimed
 that except for the title of Maira (Queen Mother, but now held by any
 senior patri-female relative of the Shehu), the Gumsu (the Shehu's sen-
 ior wife) chooses the women to receive the titles of Ma'aran and Do'oma.

554 Although it was not observed, informants claimed that at big celebra-
 562 tions of state, the titled women must wear their men's robes of office,
 527 men's hats, and walk with their special men's sticks. This ceremonial
 transvestism emphasizes the congruency of nobility, authority, and
 prestige with maleness.

554 In contemporary Bornu, the word ma'aran has come to mean
 562 the local head of the unmarried women, who are not linked very closely
 [431] into any overall state organization. It is customary for the women when
 they marry to give her a small payment, fataka (Kanuri for two shillings)
 which the men give to the Lawan (Village Area Head) before the marriage.

[476] The women are organized as a semi-formal work force under the ma'aran
 for quite traditional purposes.
 (1) See below pp. 269-270.

000 for quite traditional purposes. If visitors come to town, the head of
 • 554 the settlement or the District Head informs the ma'aram as to how many
 562 are coming and for how long. She then organizes the cooking of the food
 476 and the water carrying for the strangers. Some informants claimed that
 574 the ma'aram could commandeer cooking utensils (not food) in the market
 without payment while preparing for visitors.

554 The status of the ma'aram is formally expressed (as are all
 576 superior-subordinate relations in Bornu) by those who say alangubero to
 her and those who do not. The junior must always say alangubero to the
 senior as a sign of respectful greeting. All women who consider them-
 selves tala (wives of peasant-commoners) greet her with alangubero
 while all wives of Mai (chiefs), i.e. women of the Shahu, the District
 Heads of the Lawan, or the wives of the Alkalai (the Muslim judge) ex-
 pect that the ma'aram will greet them by saying alangubero. In Magumeri
 this rule was followed, but also extended. The wife of the District
 Head's chief follower (the Wakil) came from a high status Maiduguri fam-
 ily and was personally very wealthy. She was accordingly given respect
 554 by the ma'aram. It is the ma'aram in each town who always leads the
 562 organization of the women during festivities, during rites de passage.
 or at large celebrations such as religious holidays.

Success and Stratification

55 After rational empirical causes are considered the success
 828 or failure of any individual in Kanuri society can be attributed to his
 good fortune. This quality is an essential and variable aspect of human
 nature, essential for success, and variable from person to person and
 within the same person through time. If an individual moves up the pol-
 itical scale, amasses wealth, harvests a good crop, is lucky in gambling,
 wins judicial decisions, obtains power and authority over others, or

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828 makes what power he has work well for him, avoids illness, poverty and derision, or does anything that can be measured in terms of achievement, then the degree of his success is the proof as to how much arsiyi (good fortune, personal degree of success) he has in his hal (his nature, his being, his essence). Like Calvinistic pre-determination, arsiyi is hoped for before the fact, and indicated or substantiated after the fact, of success.

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829 In answering questions about arsiyi, informants of all classes and ranks are generally agreed that no matter how much success a peasant has with his farm, his wife, at cards, or at his craft work, he can never possibly come close to having as much arsiyi as even a bad District Head or Village Area Head. When finer discriminations are asked for, however, disagreements sometime arise. Thus informants when questioned as to who has more arsiyi, a trader in the city who recently bought a big truck and has a large compound of wives and followers, or a somewhat effete District Head, they answered according to how they ranked wealth alone as compared to political power. Since both of these dimensions of status are usually congruent when ranked high, the discrimination is often a difficult one. Nevertheless there is, at any one level in the society, a large measure of agreement about the amount of arsiyi of the various social roles in the society at any one time. People from different levels of the society give somewhat differing pictures of the distribution of arsiyi throughout the society. This results from their different vantage points and therefore differing opportunities for perceiving the social structure. Thus although many lower class people find it difficult to decide whether or not the effete District Head has more arsiyi than the rich city trader, those close to the chief, including himself, feel that the rich trader has more.

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This brings up an interesting observation. The judgment of any individual about the distribution of arsiyi in society at any one time is his particular notion about the arrangement of social roles in the social structure. Furthermore, his estimation of the distribution of arsiyi at any one level of the hierarchy, e.g. comparing the behaviour of one District Head with another, is his judgment of the success that occupants of similar roles were enjoying relative to one another.

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• Arsiyi seems to be used in two related ways in Kanuri culture. Firstly, in an enormously heterogeneous society, it gives a satisfactory answer to individual variations along one of the most affective dimensions of behaviour, success in achieving immediate and long range goals. Secondly, it is used as an explanation for the nature of the social structure, i.e. for its stratification. Those people, who have higher status along any dimension of stratification, have more arsiyi, which accounts for their ability to maintain such a role in the social organization. These two ways of using arsiyi as an explanation for differentiation are related so that what results is a Kanuri theory of society that at once validates its structure and explains the changes in personnel which accompany a system where personal fortunes may rise and fall rapidly. Thus a high status position in the structure indicates that the person has that amount of arsiyi. His performance of the role required by this status may show him to have even more arsiyi than he will outstrip others who occupy the same status and seek the same goals. On the other hand, he may do badly which will indicate a loss of arsiyi and a loss of status. Arsiyi is also, besides being a theory of society, a theory of causation, which integrates social and individual differentiation under one simple, mystical force, personal

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- 828 good fortune, which is continually being validated since its presence
- 829 is manifested after the fact of its operation in behaviour.

If the extended household head can maintain the 234.

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571 subordination of his followers, then he is on the way to becoming a
• 554 "big" man which may eventually mean his attainment of the political
622 position of Hamlet or ward head (Balama), depending upon the location
of his settlement. This achieved status is then stabilised through
the inheritance rules.

The Village Area

- 632 The small village area includes a town cluster of adjoining
compounds (usually 500-2000 population) and a surrounding group of small
settlements (Hamlets) in the immediate area. The larger towns are
broken down into wards, and as we have seen the ward head and the
hamlet head have the same political status, that of Balama. This is
due to their similar political roles as local leaders under the Lawan
(633 Village Area Head). In larger cities such as Maiduguri, Gaidam, or
Nguru, the "wards" of the city include such large populations that
their head men receive the title of Lawan. These Lawans in turn have
Balama under them as heads of sub-ward divisions in their jurisdiction-
al area.

- 632
[565] In the town of Magumeri, the Lawan has jurisdiction over all
persons in the Village Area who describe themselves as his peasants.
This excludes all persons who are directly subordinate to the District
(657) Head, the Judge, or the N.A. in Maiduguri. Formally he collects a
Haraji (assessment) tax from everybody except the District Head, but
in reality, he has little political control over anyone who has function-
ing attachments to the Bornu N.A.

- 632 The Lawan acts as his own ward head, of the nguru Lawantari
621 (the Lawan's ward), and many of the compounds in this ward house the
followers of Lawan, i.e. the members of his extended household organisa-
tion. Some of the householders had compounds in this ward long before

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If the Lawan moves to another town, or is dismissed, the persons who are his tada move with him, while his tala (peasants) wait patiently for a new Lawan to collect taxes and to settle their disputes.

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Wisely, the Lawan's son in Magumeri stays out of any active leadership role in his father's organization. His job as the adult education (literacy) organizer for the District of Magumeri, keeps him travelling much of the time and he never interferes with the political organization which he may one day inherit. During the entire period of the field trip he was never once observed taking any role of power and authority towards any of his father's followers, all of whom treated him with deference. His father is one of the few enthusiastic supporters of adult education and enforces its innovation quite vigorously in his own jurisdictional area, since he knows that this will raise his son's political respectability in the Bornu N.A. (1)

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[622]

All land use rights in the village area except hereditary usufruct are vested in the Lawan. However, dispensation of land use rights can, in practice, be carried out by Hamlet Heads within the hamlet boundaries, although all such decisions must be cleared with Lawan before their final validation. The Lawan is also approached and told of all land rentals which he witnesses. As noted before he is paid a fee for witnessing marriages and ratifying divorces, and he hears and tries disputes involving his peasants. Indeed most peasants feel more secure about any decisions they have made affecting their neighbours

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(1) The Magumeri Village Area peasants are nevertheless not responding very keenly to adult education. They find Lawan's enthusiasm for literacy rather confusing, since one of the main propaganda themes given to innovators by the N.A. (designed by the British) is the alleged skill that literacy gives the peasants in ascertaining whether or not their tax receipts actually correspond to their payments. The fact that it is the Lawan who taxes them - and overtaxes them they believe - and he as well who prods them to learn to read, is one reason why they are mistrustful of the literacy campaign.

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571 contiguous households close to their superior's residence. The
organisation has a Wakil as its sub-head who acts as IH on the few
occasions when the IH is absent from his District headquarters. The
general term for all male members of this extended household organisation is waladai (roughly non-kin follower) or tada Ajiabe (sons or boys
[554] of the IH). The waladai, whether slave or freeborn, are also called
ko'una if they have been given a horse by the IH which gives them a
higher status than the unhorsed members of the organisation. In Magu-
mari a few of these followers have joined the IH during their own lives,
most other freeborn as well as slave, are hereditary followers of this
particular IH and his father before him.

Collectively the members of this group are referred to by
non-members as tada Ajiabe. When they are older and married with farms
(given to them by the IH)⁽¹⁾ and perhaps have some dry season activity,
they are at first glance hardly distinguishable from ordinary peasants.
However, unlike ordinary peasants, the IH uses them as messengers and
helpers in nomad cattle tax levies. They in turn never fail to ride
in a gallop in the IH's honour, if they have a horse. Furthermore,
they must be ready and willing to move with their leader to a new Dis-
trict should he be stationed elsewhere. Younger members who live
either in the IH's compound or with elder members of the organisation
are often feared by respectable townsfolk. They have no farms, no
wives, and no households of their own. They talk, play cards, drink,
look for amorous experiences, and are felt to be spies for the IH.

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[423] (1) Within the available land of the District Headquarters there is an
[425] acreage which is under the direct dispensation of the IH and beyond
the jurisdiction of the Lawan. The IH may also appropriate farm
land for his own use or dispensation beyond the borders of present
farming activities in the District capital.

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[For information on acculturation among varied occupational groups (craftsmen, canteen operators, Koranic malams, NA malams and kabuna) and social groups (aristocracy, talaka and low-status individuals), and their responses to contact with material items of Western culture as well as Western medicine, education, language and occupations, see category 116, pp. 249-327.]

The DH as a titled sub-ruler under the

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634 Shehu still has a

647 highly respected position in the society, and the N.A. officials are

• 554 ready and willing to pay respect to his traditional prestige. Thus

[576] if the DH (on the rare occasions when he does emerge from his residence) passes by, N.A. officials like everyone else stand up while he moves past them; similarly as a mark of respect they remove their shoes before coming into his presence.

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Finally, if the N.A. official is not incorporated into the

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extended household organization of the DH, then the factional member-

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ships of the DH as compared to that of the official also tend to determine how much pressure the DH is able to exert in the situation. If the DH is closely connected to the Department Heads, and other high ranking N.A. officials, and these latter respect his friendship and judgement, then he may have an avenue of control over the local official through the latter's own superiors. On the other hand, if the N.A. employee is himself connected to powerful factions in the state, then the DH knows that this particular person can bring powerful forces into action against him.

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The potential conflict between the DH and the N.A. officials

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disappears when the latter is part of the DH's extended household organization. In Magumeri, one N.A. Messenger and the N.A. prison warden

were followers of the DH. The N.A. Messenger started about twenty years ago in Maiduguri as a seller of cut grass for horse feed. Later he be-

(1)

came attached as a servant-follower to an ex-Shehu's son and from there

became a horsed follower (ko'una) of the present DH of Magumeri who

[838]

(1) Bornu gossip attributes this rather large upward leap to a homosexual relationship between the servant and his master, which the Kanuri believe is one way for a man of no means to move up the social ladder; i.e. by making himself available sexually to a homosexual member of the upper classes.

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• 554 owes many obligations to this Shehu's son. Later, through his connections to both these men, and their connections in the Emirate, he was appointed to the job of N. A. Messenger assigned to the DH of Magumeri.

[661] The DH arranged that this man be used to deliver the N. A. salaries from Maidaguri to Magumeri. Since the salaries are in cash, the Messenger is able to do some quick trading with the money before he brings it back to [203] the District. Because of his constant trips back and forth to and from the capital, plus his many contacts among the nobles and officials of the State, this Messenger has become the DH's listening post for news and gossip from the city. This communication position is vitally important to the DH since he must know of shifts in policy objectives and personnel in the capital in order to gauge properly the pressures that may be exerted upon him from the center. The Messenger fulfilling this role has, in his turn, used his position to usurp a leading status among the followers of the DH, many of whom are either hereditary or long-term members of the DH's organization. They feel that he is "pushy" and confidentially accuse him of secret immorality. On the other hand, his fellow N. A. officials in the District maintain only a polite but distant relationship with him; (a) because of his close ties to the DH, and (b) because he always delivers their salaries late, which naturally antagonizes them. The man thus pays a high price of loneliness and semi-isolation for the key position he has carved for himself in the DH's organization.

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662 The prison warden who kept the little jail in Magumeri, although not formally a DH's follower, was well on the way to becoming

517 taming to court cases, horse racing, radio, phonographs, newspapers, political meetings, and cinema shows (in Maiduguri). Some of these items, both traditional and acquired as a result of culture contact, require expenditures. Thus praise-singing which validates status, or

- 511 [554] even creates it momentarily where it does not exist, may become almost a social narcotic when used by some highly motivated person who wishes to obtain higher status but cannot, and thus buys it in one or two minute lumps of time from the singers. Again sexual affairs (male speaking) for sheer pleasure can be a costly entertainment, especially if the
- [833] man seeks variety. Other traditional items, such as gambling (now
- [524] [517] done with European playing cards), learning to read the Koran, trips to other localities, visiting markets with no practical purpose, may
- [177] all lead easily to some expenditures. With growing culture contact and westernization we may expect that items such as radios, newspapers, and movies will begin entering family budgets, as they have already done for the urban population.

- 276 The major traditional stimulants in Bornu are kola-nuts,
- (273] millet beer and tobacco flowers for women. Kola-nuts are chewed almost universally by both sexes, and form part of leisure time intercourse. It is customary to have nuts at weddings, naming ceremonies
- 276 and other ritual occasions, which are given out to guests. Generally
- 511 speaking, expenditures reported by men for kola-nuts were low in comparison to food and clothing. However, in several cases - the District Head, the head butcher, a kola-nut retailer, a city trader, an N.A. messenger, an ex-cattle trader now a farmer, and a hides and skins trader, the calculated annual expense approached or equalled clothing expenditures. Women colour their teeth with gworongo (*Salonacea Incanum*) and
- [302] chew tobacco flowers and kola-nuts, but generally obtain the income for

571 (even though the two men are almost the same age).

(b) Bukar, tada njima of Mala Yaro (Bukar, the "son of the house" of Mala Yaro.

438 Bukar can be seen three or four days a week walking about
442 town in Magumeri, with a tin of cellophane wrapped candies. Mala Yaro,
443 one of the N. A. messengers who goes in and out to the city regularly
571 gives him a tin about once a week, which the boy sells in town. Mala Yaro buys the tin from a "Kanti" (canteen or shop) run by a Kanuri in Maiduguri. The boy who is not related by kinship or marriage to his superior also helps Mala Yaro in the compound, carries his spear when the latter rides in ceremonial displays, gathers grass for the horse, carries water for the household (the women are in seclusion) and in return receives his food, clothing, shelter and spending money from his superior. Profits from the retailing of candy accrue to the senior who gives Bukar a small commission for his selling services. Here the retail economic relationship is only one small aspect of the superior/subordinate barrum relationship between the seller and his wholesale supplier, and therefore both meanings of the word apply to the one situation.

(c) Ajimi Gworoma (Ajima the kola-nut seller)

438 For the six to eight months a year when he is not tending his
442 farm plots and intermittently during the farming season, Ajimi sells to bakama, retailers of small quantities of kola nuts. His Pa-01-Brp is (1) Alkali Bukar, the ex-Alkali (judge) of Gaidam District. As of July, 1956, Alkali Bukar had given Ajimi £20.0.0 in cash on eight separate occasions since the end of the 1955 harvests. With this money Ajimi pur-

[439] chased kola-nuts from big traders, who had trucked the nuts into Maiduguri from Jos, Kano and other parts of Nigeria.
• [554] (1) Having once received the title of Alkali, or any title, the recipient maintains it every after he has become inactive in the role.

considered in some detail.

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The data on ethnic membership indicates that social contacts through physical proximity per se between people of different ethnic origins does not necessarily decrease the social distance between them. The Kanuri feel greater social distance towards pagan groups with whom they interact, than those with whom they have very little interpersonal relations. On the other hand, although they have few interpersonal contacts with Arabs and Europeans, these groups are ranked as high as their own, and in some cases even higher.

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Occupations range widely in terms of the status they accord to individual members of the society. In the low status range are such jobs as butcher, blacksmith, petty broker, drummer-entertainer, and money-lender. On the other hand civil service jobs, including the traditional political offices which have been supported by colonial rule in the contemporary society, are ranked as high status positions. In the middle range are the less highly valued European-introduced occupations requiring manual labour. Here too are the lesser valued traditional political offices like Village and Hamlet Head, while traditional crafts fall below these and above the low status range. The emphasis on non-self-employment among high status occupations indicates that for Bornu just as in many underdeveloped areas of the world, western education means most desirably to those who obtain it, a civil service career, rather than an entrepreneurial or self-employed occupational future.

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Kanuri society is not classified neatly by ascribed birth statuses. The other dimensions of rank modify this biologically given status, and thus birth, although important, is only a rough guide and not a precise measure of an individual's status in the social structure at any particular point in time.

000 at any particular point in time.

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183 People are also ranked in terms of their wealth and the manner in which they use their material resources. There is a conflict between consumption of wealth for subsistence purposes and for the creation and maintenance of social relationships. This is only partially resolved by covert savings because the competition between subsistence needs and the high value placed upon generosity are irreconcilable in practice, given the low standard of living in the area.

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• 554 In the society as a whole, people are differentiated as to whether or not they are rural or urban. This distinction is more sharply made by upper class city dwellers, since lower class urban dwellers have many ties which connect them to the rural areas as well as to the newly expanded cities.

565 Lower and higher statuses are generally co-ordinated into two broad segments or classes of the society. These large segments are characterized by many cultural features of dress, language, etiquette, house-type and so on. These features create the possibility of simulation of upper class membership by upwardly aspiring lower class individuals. Individuals can imitate these cultural econcomitants to give the impression of more or less membership in a class. And this 'more or less' quality turns the segmentary aspect of class into a status dimension along which people can be ranked.

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829 Permeating all of the social stratification and perhaps helping to fuse the various segments is a cultural ideology concerning the nature of success. Kanuri culture contains a theory of society and its causes, all of which is embodied in the concept arsivi. The theory explains to the people, both the structure of society and mobility

• 554 341.
828 within this structure. The higher the status of an individual, the
829 more arriyi he has, and the success of any one individual either in
moving from one role to another, or in performing any given role also
indicates the extent of his arriyi.

631 The Kanuri political system has been described in terms
of the organization of power and authority in increasingly scaled so-
cial structures starting with the extended household organization and
621 ending with a discussion of modern political parties. Any local resi-
dence group in Bornu is potentially a larger political unit either in
the form of a ward within a town or as a separate hamlet in the bush.
This unit resembles an extended family organization but may include
non-kin as well as kin members who are all subordinate in some way to
the senior male of the residence association. We have used the term
[602] extended household organization to describe this flexible unit. The
relation of all subordinates to the senior member is similar to that
between a father and his sons and non-kin as well as kin members
621 bring their wives to this unit at the local level. If the extended
557 household organization head can maintain the subordination of his fol-
[622] lowers, then he is on the way to becoming a "big" man. This can even-
tually lead to his attainment of the political position of Hamlet Head
or Ward Head (Belama). This achieved status is then stabilized through
inheritance.

621 At the local level, the extended household organization
571 applies to a territorial unit of closely contiguous compounds each
with its own head but with some form of subordination to the head of
the larger unit. As we have seen, in other sections of the political
organization and in the economic organization this kind of superior/
subordinate relationship may be spread out to include men not living

THE SUCCESS THAT FAILED

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turn divided into craft work, sales of surplus agricultural products, and a complex middleman trade between markets. There is a large variation in dependence upon the market as against subsistence agriculture for obtaining total income, although some farming is carried on by almost everyone except a few full-time specialists.

The society is stratified, with status based on tribal membership, occupation, birth, age, wealth, and to some extent, urban residence identifications. The people recognize two major class divisions — the upper or ruling class (*Kəntuoma*) and the broad base of the peasant class (*tala*), under the autocratic hegemony of the rulers. Rosman (1959) uses eight separate categories of social status in his work on Kanuri acculturation. Cohen (1959) has used status gradients and their inter-relationships to explain social differentiation, upward mobility, and class structure.

The society has a monarch, the Shehu, in his capital city of Maiduguri, and courtly life with nobles, including *Ajia*, or District Heads, who live in their own district capitals as sub-rulers of twenty-one segments of the emirate under the Shehu. District Heads in turn have under their jurisdiction a group of contiguous Village Area units headed by *Lawan* or Village Heads. Under these latter are Hamlet Heads, *Bulama*, in charge of small settlements of contiguous compounds. Peasants call themselves the peasants of such and such a *Lawan*. Today the Native Administration departments have their personnel stationed throughout the districts. Along with the District Head and his followers they form an urban upper class living in the districts throughout the state.

The Situation

As part of a general programme of economic development in Northern Nigeria, agricultural research stations have been set up by the government in every province of the region. The results are published in annual reports so that Agricultural Officers may begin introducing new seeds, fertilizers, and even new crops on a wide scale as soon as these improvements are known to be feasible under local conditions.

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177 Two one-acre plots were to be used for each peasant, so that the utility of the fertilizer could be seen on both millet and groundnut plots. In addition, the field worker was to keep careful records on date of sowing, date of application of fertilizer, dates of first and second weeding and harvesting, farmer reaction to super-phosphate, name and village of the cultivator, and finally, the weight in pounds of millet and groundnuts harvested per half acre on the demonstration plots. The field worker was instructed on the necessity of weighing the harvest from each half acre in the presence of the owner, so that each peasant would see the difference in yield from the treated and untreated portions of the plots. The instructions on this last point were very strongly worded and field workers were made to feel particularly responsible for the final demonstration to the farmer of the weight of crops coming from each part of the demonstration plots. Field workers were also told to play down the efficacy of this particular stock of super-phosphate pellets by commenting on its age and its probable loss of power in comparison to new super-phosphate which could be expected to give much more powerful results. The field worker was also asked to make the point that this free application was only for the purpose of demonstration, and that anyone wishing to obtain super-phosphate fertilizer in the future would be expected to buy it. (Actually, the plan was to distribute the fertilizer the following year at a very nominal price, well below its actual worth.)

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(875)
(554) The District Head organized a meeting of Magumeri cultivators and introduced Malam Abdulla and his project. The Village Head of Magumeri and the local school teacher, both highly respected men in the village, made short speeches extolling the virtues of the fertilizer, and the Village Head asked for volunteers who would participate in the project. Only a few came forward, others were then ordered to do so, and the rest of the Magumeri sample was obtained through the participation of the school teacher and servants of the District Head, all of whom had their own farm plots. Malam Abdulla also went to two other villages in the area, after obtaining the permission of the District Head, and obtained "volunteers". In

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This was reflected strongly throughout the fertilizer demonstration. The super-phosphate was first praised as a part of western technology which was dubbed "wonderful". It was made clear that this technique could increase productivity, but the idea was gained that it was because of European technological superiority that the fertilizer should be considered worthwhile. Perhaps the most rigid extension of western culture as well as technology, was in the use of one-acre plots as demonstration units. Since the goal of demonstration was to indicate the increase in productivity occasioned by the fertilizer, it was necessary only to obtain a plot and divide it in two. By always insisting on an acre, the field worker often left part of a farm plot out of the experiment arbitrarily, and by implication emphasized the "foreign" character of the innovation.

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The reaction to all this was simply to intensify the belief that Europeans knew nothing about Kanuri farming techniques.

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Another difficulty could have been the field worker's age. However, he was well aware that in Kanuri society young men do not tell older men how to behave, and was at all times polite, and respectful to older peasants. On the other hand, Malam Abdulla was a member of the political organization by training, and by birth (his father was a Village Head). This gave him high status so that he could make suggestions to older people. Negative attitudes not to his age, but to his programme were reflected in peasants' statements to the writer that Malam Abdulla came from Yajuwa, to the south of Magumeri where the soil was a different colour, and therefore more amenable to the "European compost".

Finally, there was no "follow up" on the successful demonstration. The field assistant made little or no attempt to assess whether or not the peasants were convinced of the utility of the fertilizer. He conceived of his job as one in which his main task was to carry out a successful field demonstration, keep records, and turn in a final report. During the meeting, well after the harvest season when negative opinions and stereotypes had had several months to congeal, only the leaders of the community spoke of the project. No participating farmer was brought forward to speak of the success which he had observed on his